

California State University, Monterey Bay
Digital Commons @ CSUMB

Capstone Projects and Master's Theses

2008

Native Californians and the Mission Period

Sean Halnais

California State University, Monterey Bay

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.csumb.edu/caps_thes

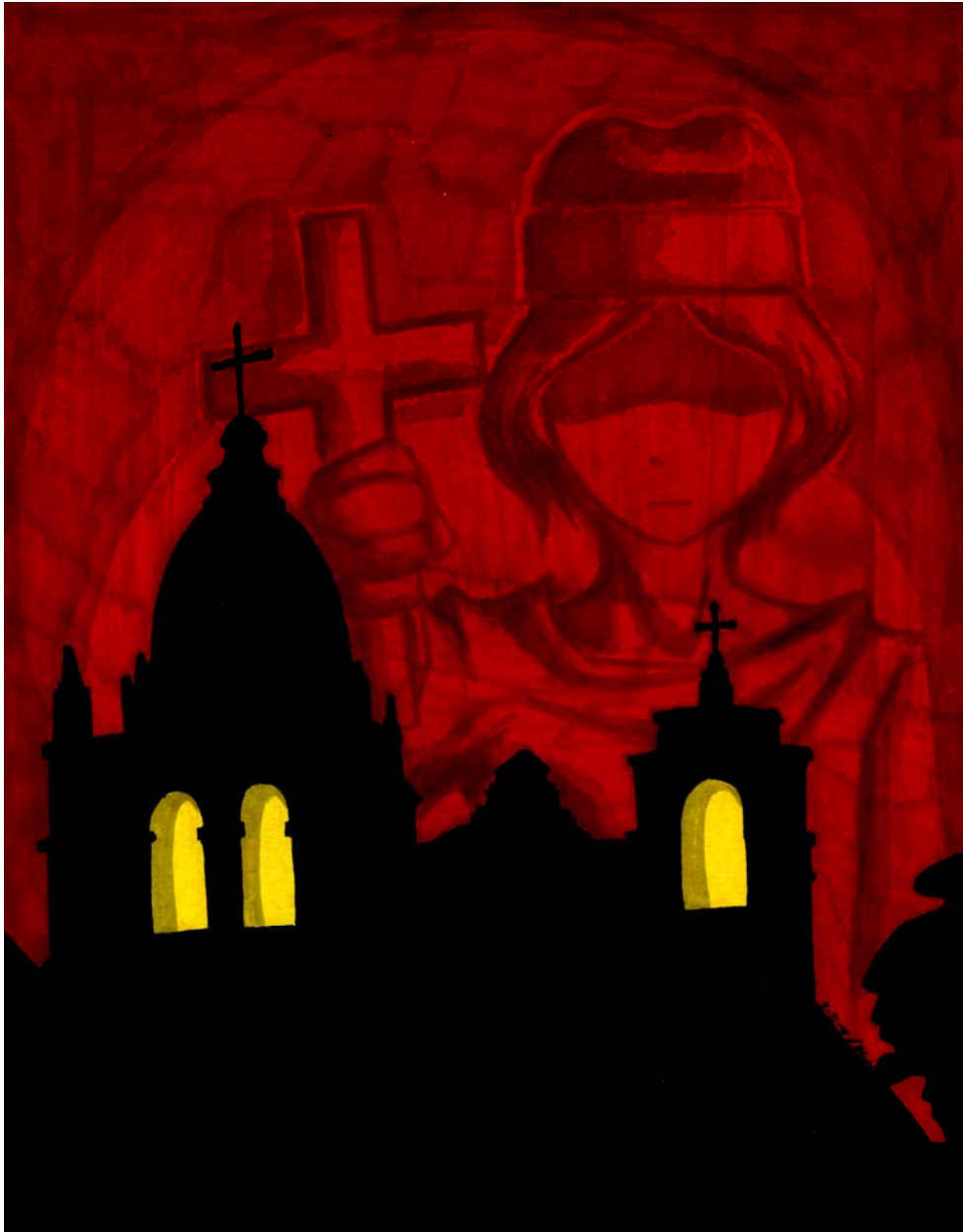
Recommended Citation

Halnais, Sean, "Native Californians and the Mission Period" (2008). *Capstone Projects and Master's Theses*. 6.

https://digitalcommons.csumb.edu/caps_thes/6

This Capstone Project is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Commons @ CSUMB. It has been accepted for inclusion in Capstone Projects and Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ CSUMB. Unless otherwise indicated, this project was conducted as practicum not subject to IRB review but conducted in keeping with applicable regulatory guidance for training purposes. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@csumb.edu.

Native Californians and the Mission Period



Sean Halnais

Single Subject Waiver/History and Social Sciences

Professor Diana Garcia

Spring 2008

Division of Humanities and Communication

Native Californians and the Mission Period

Sean Halnais

Single Subject Waiver/History and Social Sciences

Professor Diana Garcia

Spring 2008

Division of Humanities and Communication

Table of Contents

Acknowledgement and Dedication	i
--------------------------------------	---

Findings

• Introduction	1
• Expansion of Empire and Method of Colonization	2
• Enticement of Native Californians into the Missions	7
• Spanish Impact on the California Ecosystem	12
• Daily Life and Conduct at the Missions	16
• Diseases.....	22
• Discipline and Punishment	26
• Resistance	31
• Fugitivism and Upholding Ancient Traditions	36
• Current Impact	41
• Conclusion	47

Bibliography	53
--------------------	----

Appendices

Appendix A: Interdisciplinary Reflection Essay	59
Appendix B: Annotated Bibliography	66
Appendix C: Electronic Poster.....	82

Acknowledgement and Dedication

It has been almost two years since I began research for my capstone project, focusing on the Native Californians during the Spanish Mission Period. Since then, I have learned a lot, adding each new lesson to my arsenal of techniques and information. However, I would not have been able to fulfill my accomplishments had it not been for those around me who were supportive, knowledgeable, and helpful to me.

First, I would like to thank my mom, dad, members of my family, and closest friends who have stood by me, watching me progress to higher plateaus of knowledge and have given encouragement, wishing to see me succeed and reach the very pinnacle of success, at the same time allowing me to pass on the knowledge I have gained onto them. Had it not been for the support of my family and friends, my experience at California State University Monterey Bay would have been short and unfulfilling.

To that extent, I wish to extend my gratitude to a few renowned individuals who have given up their own valuable time to help me with the research, writing, and assembling of my project's written segment and presentation.

I thank Professor Cecilia O'Leary, my advisor in the Human Communication department, who has guided me during my time at California State University Monterey Bay. She was very helpful, especially when giving me feedback on my project, helping me step by step with writing and presenting the information, and searching for valuable resources. She sacrificed a great deal of her time to see that my project was well constructed. She made sure to answer every question I asked and paid attention to every detail in my project writing, proofreading for any mistakes or simplifying sentences that may have been somewhat confusing or obscure.

I also want to thank Professor Rebecca Bales of the Social Behavioral Science department who was very helpful in expressing her knowledge on Native Americans and their interaction with the California Mission System. When there was a question that needed to be answered, regarding any historical context on the Spanish Mission Period, Professor Bales would have an explanation. She allowed me to borrow two important sources that would help me with my project and was very informative when it came to assembling my bibliography.

Recognition also goes to Professor Diana Garcia who gave excellent feedback this past semester on what needed to be revised or added to my capstone project. Her comments were very open and allowed me to improve on my writing, making my project more presentable.

To all my other professors who I have attended class with since my first semester here, I am grateful that you have done so much for me in return. Not only have you enlightened me to a new way of thinking, but as a result have allowed me to see the world through a kaleidoscope of perspectives, taking into consideration the multiple aspects of a single situation.

And to my peers, my fellow students, I thank and congratulate you. Your critiques, your support, and your assistance have made it possible for me to create a magnificent piece of work, which I present before you now.

Introduction

California, currently one of the most prosperous states of the Union, historically was a site of colonization by the Spanish Empire. Land was taken from one society and transferred to another--from the Indigenous Californians to Spain, to Mexico, and to the United States. As different empires and nations gained dominance in California, new chapters of history were written, with each having its own significant impact. But like any moment in history, there are always various interpretations of what took place.

One of the most controversial moments in California's past was the Spanish Mission Period. Fray Junipero Serra, Father President of California, began erecting in 1769 what would eventually become twenty-one missions spread out across the Alta territories. The common image that we have of the Native Californians during this time is that they were content with mission life, that they openly embraced Christianity, and easily adapted to the supposedly superior agricultural methods introduced by the missionaries. However, an extensive examination of historical records, including observations by individuals who lived during the Mission Period, reveals a darker side behind the mission system. In fact, the missions played a pivotal role in Spanish colonization of California, which resulted in disastrous effects on the Indigenous people. The focus of this essay is on the California Indians and their interactions with the mission system.

Contemporary scholars and researchers continue to present their cases either in support of or against the efforts of the Franciscans and the impact the mission system had upon Native Californians. However, most scholars argue that the missions were more costly to the Indians than beneficial. As more evidence is uncovered, the controversy

over California's mission history continues. My own research leads me to conclude that the experience of the Indigenous Californians during the Mission Period was not a positive one. The impact of the missions left the Indigenous Californians in disarray. The system destroyed the traditional lifestyles of different Native cultures and brought ruin to individual tribal groups leaving a death toll numbering over sixty-three thousand. Despite the significance of Native Californian history, there is still little or very vague information on the Indigenous side of the story. The missions still need to accurately portray the events that took place during Spain's occupation of California and the results that the mission system had on the Indian communities.

This report sheds light on some of the events that took place during the Mission Period and what resulted because of it. The essay is organized into the following sections: the expansion of Spain's Empire into the California territories and the method of colonization; enticement of the Indians into the missions; the daily routines of the mission Indians; the diseases which afflicted the Indigenous Californians; the methods of discipline and punishment used to impose order upon the Indians; the forms of resistance that arose against the missions; Native Californians attempt to uphold ancestral traditions; and the current historical representation of Indians in the missions today.

The Expansion of Empire and Method of Colonization

The analysis of California's Mission Period starts with The Spanish conquest of the Americas. From 1492, Spain expanded its cultural, economic, and religious values all over the New World. Their influence spread through most of South and Central America and then worked its way through North America.

Prior to establishing dominance in the New World, Spain originally hoped to find a western passage to Asia. Doing so would allow the Spanish to bypass the land and sea trade routes held by the countries of the Islamic Empire and establish a western overseas route that required no fee or homage to the Muslim leaders.¹ They also hoped to spread Christianity to the powerful eastern nations further increasing the influence of Spain and Catholicism.² Instead, the Spanish came across the Americas, a land mass filled with an endless abundance of natural resources that heightened the wealth of their empire and ensured Spain's position as the world's greatest super power. With access to the New World, Spain collected the dues necessary to maintain its strength. But resource exploitation was not the only motivation behind Spanish expansionism; upholding the authority of the Catholic Church as the world's dominant religion was another critical element.

However, there was no continuous flow of Spanish manpower to maintain such a vast expansion, especially against fast rising competition with other nations. Spain also suffered from financial problems, which further prevented numerical and colonial superiority in the California regions. Due to the lack of these significant elements, Spain could not properly engage in direct colonization. They had to find another form of gaining control which required less manpower and was within the economic budget. Hence, the establishment of the missions, along with several military presidios, acted as enforcement to the laws set down in the new territories.³

¹ Peter N. Stearns, *World History in Brief: Major Patterns of Change and Continuity 5th ed.* (New York, George Mason University, 2005), p. 261-262.

² Ibid., 261-262.

³ Edward D. Castillo, *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991), 424.

Missions were founded throughout the Americas. California, being one of the last to be settled, had its fair share of them, from the Jesuit and Dominican missions in Baja California, first established with Mission Loreto in 1697, to the Franciscan missions of Alta California, first established with the founding of Mission San Diego de Alcalá in 1769 by Junipero Serra.⁴ The Franciscan missions of Alta California are the main focus of this inquiry. According to Edward Castillo, despite being religious sanctuaries responsible for conversions, the missions were also established as independent agricultural outposts that acted as sources of revenue to enrich the prosperity of the newly conquered territories.⁵

The missions established cultural influence for the Indigenous people whom the Franciscans incorporated into their societies. As a norm, the Franciscan missionaries took on the task of teaching Native Californians Catholicism and western customs intending to transform the Indians into loyal subjects of the Spanish crown.⁶ This would help enlarge the influence of Spain. Of course, expansionism was the true motivation of the Spanish monarch. It was an act of necessity due to the fear of possible encroachment by rival European and Asiatic powers who also established trade routes and colonies in America.⁷

Edward Castillo notes a familiar pattern of colonization the Spanish deployed during their New World conquest, a method not unique to Alta California. Because the Spanish lacked a surplus in population, they instead used a technique in which the Indigenous people maintained authority. A combined effort of military might cloaked with the prestige of the Catholic faith helped extend and secure Spanish control. James A.

⁴ Map of Alta and Baja California Missions, Munros Museum, Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo.

⁵ Castillo, *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks*, 424.

⁶ George Harwood Phillips, "Indians and the Breakdown of the Spanish Mission System in California," In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, 380-94 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991), 386.

⁷ Rebecca Bales, "Native Americans and the California Mission Period" (lecture, California State University Monterey Bay, Monterey, 2007-2008).

Sandos called it “A Sacred Expedition,” in which a religion’s purpose helped “conceal political and territorial motivation” behind these actions.⁸ This involved an immediate pacification of the Native Americans, turning them from so-called paganism and heathenism to the Christian faith and further transforming them into becoming Spanish subjects with the status of either peons or peasants.⁹ Other historians and researchers have developed similar theories.

George Harwood Phillips, a professor at the University of California in Los Angeles and a specialist in anthropology and history, compares the California Missions with the concept of a plural society. A plural society emerges when affairs are regulated by the minority. This dominant minority preserves its economic, social, and political supremacy over a subjected majority via means of “serfdom, slavery, peonage, colonialism, or through a restricted political franchise.”¹⁰ Because of the miniscule number of Spaniards and Mestizo groups in California, along with a lack in funding, it was out of the question to engage in a “large scale colonization effort.”¹¹ Maintaining authority required the subjection of the Amerindian populous to maintain and preserve California for Spain.

Another theory similar to both Phillips and Castillo is given by Robert Heizer. He too writes of how the missions were established, not only to reduce “heathenism” through conversion, but also how the Natives would be instructed by the missionaries to follow useful pursuits that would benefit the missions and military presidios. The mission lands

⁸ James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (London: Yale University Press, 2004), 3.

⁹ Edward D. Castillo, “An Indian Account of the Decline and Collapse of Mexico’s Hegemony over the Missionized Indians in California,” *American Indian Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (1989), 3.

¹⁰ Phillips, “Indians and the,” 385.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 386.

all the while were maintained for the use of those who lived on the grounds.¹² Thus, as an after effect, the Franciscans would return the lands back to the converted Indians once their sacred task of conversion was fulfilled.¹³

This reinforces the motive for baptizing and bringing in Indigenous peoples into the missions. By converting the Indians to the Catholic faith and turning them into Spanish subjects, the Franciscans could transform the Native Americans into the “region’s main colonizing force.”¹⁴ Antonio de Ascencion, a Carmelite priest, penned a declaration in 1620 regarding the process of the mission system. Not only did he express that those establishing the missions be highly religious and ethical, but Ascencion also pointed out the possible outcome to the system’s establishment in the California territory and how the converted Natives, over time, would take the place of the Franciscan missionaries, bearing the responsibility of maintaining control for Spain. It was also hoped the enlightened Natives would later spread the Christian faith to their unconverted brethren who still held on to their traditional ways. According to Ascencion:

They [The Indians] should be taught the Christian doctrine and how to read from the Spanish primers. By knowing how to read they will also learn the Spanish language...A strong building is built on firm foundations. If care is taken at the very beginning, the end results will be positive...It is very easy for the children to learn our language... When they are older, they can teach the people they know, their children, and their families. This will be of great benefit because then there will be no lack of ministers to teach and guide the Indians along the path to heaven and salvation. They then can proceed to establish other Christian settlements and convert the Indians who are scattered in the mountains. Drawing them out with love, kindness, and gentleness.¹⁵

¹² Robert Heizer, “Impact of Colonization on the Native California Societies,” In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991), 158.

¹³ Ibid., 158.

¹⁴ Phillips, “Indians and the Breakdown,” 386.

¹⁵ Antonio de Ascencion, “1620: The First Plan for Missions in California,” In *Lands of Promise and Despair*, edited by Rose Mary Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, 284-92 (Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001), 52-3.

Enticement of Native Californians into the Missions

For expansion and conversion to happen, the Native Californians had to be befriended first before being enticed into becoming Spanish Catholics. Unfortunately for the Franciscans, gaining favor from the Indigenous California people was not an overnight success. Knowledge of the Spanish varied amidst the Native California nations.

The Coastal Miwok people, for example, knew next to nothing about the Spanish, but might have heard about them from the Ohlone people and Bay Miwoks as well through means of trade and interaction. So on first sight of these Europeans, the Coastal Miwoks had some reactions of apprehension and awe.¹⁶ They little realized the impact that the Spanish had on so many other Indigenous communities and nations before them. Spain seized natural resources and exploited Native Americans for almost three centuries before the first Franciscan missions were constructed. They brought ruin to two mighty empires in Central and South America: the Aztec Empire of Mexico fell under Hernan Cortez and the Incan Empire of the Andes fell under Francisco Pizarro.¹⁷

In 1542, Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Spanish clergyman described the brutality of his countrymen as the conquistadors started pillaging the New World of its resources, becoming the demonic scourge against the Indigenous Americans. De Las Casas writes in his letters:

They [the conquistadors] penetrated into the country and spared neither children nor the aged...they tore babies from their mothers' breasts...and dashed their heads against rocks...They spitted the bodies of other babies, together with their mothers and all who were before them on their swords.¹⁸

¹⁶ Betty Goerke, *Chief Marin: Leader, Rebel, and Legend: A History of Marin County's Namesake and His People* (Berkley: Heyday Books, 2007), 35-6.

¹⁷ Daniel Fogel, *Junipero Serra, the Vatican, and Enslavement Theology* (San Francisco: Ism Press, 1988), 15-16.

¹⁸ Bartolomé de Las Casas, "Of the Island of Hispaniola (1542)" in *America Through the Eyes of Its People: Second Edition*, edited by Bruce Borland, et al (New York: Addison, Wesley, Longman, 1997), 8.

This was the brutality of the Spanish conquistadors during the opening centuries of Spain's conquest in the Americas. By the time the Spaniards arrived in Alta California, the local inhabitants were already aware of their reputation. Some California Indian people reacted in a frightened and at times hostile manner towards the Spanish.

However, unlike the conquistadores, the Franciscan missionaries, from their point of view, meant no harm to the Native peoples. Their intentions were strictly for the sake of saving the souls of the Indians and spread Catholicism in the Americas, or so that's what it seemed.

The Franciscans found different ways to approach the Indigenous communities. The one method to gain trust from the Indigenous Californians was through gift giving.¹⁹ Hence, acts of trading became a standard procedure. Spanish goods such as metal tools, weapons, and beads were prized by the California Indians.²⁰ Beads especially were particularly valued since they symbolized the stature of a person within the community.²¹ Father Juan Crespi wrote in his journal the events of a Native American wedding on Wednesday, the ninth of August 1769, during his travels to the Franciscan missions. He describes the bride as being "The most dressed up of them all in the way she was painted and with her strings in beads."²² This proves how priceless beads were to the Indigenous Californians. However, the acquiring of beads became a concern to the elite members of Indian communities. They saw that the acquisition of wealth by much poorer families

¹⁹ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 52.

²⁰ Goerke, *Chief Marin*, 45.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

²² Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi: Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast 1769-1774* (New York: AMS Press. 1927), 154.

destabilized the community structure.²³ Trade and gift giving was one method used to entice the Indians into the mission system, but had limited results.

Then, there was the lure of the church's appeal. The masses were conducted with such grandeur. According to Betty Goerke, author of *Chief Marin*, a book based on the history of California and the aspects of the Native Americans, she states that the Indians could have also "been attracted to the spirituality of the Catholic church, enhanced by the pomp of mass."²⁴ The Native Californians witnessed the fathers wearing their elaborate ceremonial robes during religious service. This symbolized the wealth, the piety, and the power of the church.²⁵

Another approach involved baptizing Native California children into becoming members of the church. This also encouraged their parents to join as well.²⁶ In one such account, exemplified by Goerke, in 1783, a Huimen couple from Livaneglua, named Juluio and Olomojoia, brought their children to the Mission Dolores to be baptized.²⁷ At other times, the children were involuntarily brought into the missions to be inducted into Catholicism. Ann Lucy Wiener Stodder notes that in order to replenish the continuously stagnating population of mission Indians, children were kidnapped and baptized against their will. This lured the parents and the rest of the family. They accepted baptism in order to keep the family members together.²⁸ Or perhaps, by baptizing a chief into

²³ Goerke, *Chief Marin*, 45.

²⁴ Ibid., 46.

²⁵ Ibid., 46.

²⁶ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 53

²⁷ Goerke, *Chief Marin*, 46.

²⁸ Ann Lucy Wiener Stodder, *Archives of California History: Mechanisms and Trends in the Decline of the Costanoan Indian Population of Central California: vol. 4* (Salinas: Coyote Press, 1986), 25-26.

Catholicism, the rest of his people were also persuaded to become Catholics, in some cases also involuntarily.²⁹

Then, there was the attraction to the missions out of desperation or necessity, because of the sudden shortage of natural food supplies California's Indian population relied on. In the early years of the Mission Period, there were very few converts. Several explanations exist for how the influx of mission Indians came to be. Goerke states that Native Californians were attracted to the missions as a constant source of food. Missions provided supplies in case there was a decline in harvest and starvation loomed over Native villages.³⁰ Thus, because the missions maintained a storable surplus of food, the Indians who lived there ate meals three times a day.

But how is it that there would be frequent periods of strife and sudden decreases in natural food sources when California was abundant with different types of edible substances? P. Michael Galvan, a descendent of the Ohlone people, notes that when the Spanish missionaries arrived, California was thriving with natural resources that the Indians had been accustomed to living off of, such as acorns, pine nuts, berries, as well as an abundance of fish, wild fowl and animals.³¹ James J. Rawls, author of *Indians of California: The Changing Image*, also reinforces the claim made by Galvan. He writes in his prologue:

Along the central coast and throughout the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, the climate was mild, and plant and animal life was abundant. Famine was unknown, for the oaks of the rich valley plains and rolling foothills produced acorns, the staple of the Indians' diet, in greater quantities than could be consumed. Likewise, berries, seeds, fish, deer, elk and waterfowl were available in bountiful supply.³²

²⁹ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 115.

³⁰ Goerke, *Chief Marin*, 45.

³¹ P. Michael Galvan, "People of the West: Ohlone Story," *The Indian Historian* 1, no. 2 (1968), 11.

³² James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 8.

Because of such a large variety of food sources, there was no need for having to cultivate crops in an agricultural style of society. In Peter N. Stearns's *World History in Brief*, agricultural societies "supported larger populations."³³ In turn, this societal structure developed concepts of time. This contemplated the development of the week, the month, and the year, instead of instinctively going by season.³⁴

Native Californians on the other hand were a hunter and gatherer society in which they depended on their surroundings to provide nourishment.³⁵ They rarely cultivated. If they did, the Native Californian method of cultivation was not like the European style of farming. Therefore, the Indians had no reason to pace themselves based on any strict time curriculum.³⁶ The California Natives structured their society to encompass the natural environment around them, forming an ongoing equilibrium with their surroundings. They knew what to harvest, how much to harvest, and what season in which to harvest them.³⁷ This was the backbone to their survival and success. Father Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, the later successor of Junipero Serra, describes in his replying letter to Viceroy Miguel Jose de Anzanza, in 1801, the coexistent life of the Indigenous people to their natural surroundings. Lasuen writes:

In their pagan state it is quite certain that they disregard the law of self-preservation which nature implants in us, a law which binds under penalty of the total destruction of the human race. Hence, as a rule, they live without providing for what is indispensably necessary for existence; they know nothing of comforts; and they enjoy life as long as they can sustain it with ease, and without having recourse to what they regard as work.³⁸

³³ Peter N. Stearns, *World History in Brief: Major Patterns of Change and Continuity 5th ed.* (New York, George Mason University, 2005), p. 14.

³⁴ Ibid., 15.

³⁵ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 92.

³⁶ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 92.

³⁷ Robert W. Cherny; Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo; Richard Griswold del Castillo, *Competing Visions: A History of California*, (New York, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 10.

³⁸ Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, "From the Refutation of Charges by, 1801," In *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846*, edited by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, 273-276 (Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001), 273.

As a result, a strict working discipline and organized code of work ethics were non-existent. The Native Americans in the California region lived a simplistic life that was dedicated mostly to ceremonial and spiritual practices.³⁹ Though there were conflicts between neighboring communities at times, according to Galvan, they resulted in little bloodshed, if any at all.⁴⁰ Basically, Native Californians lived well provided lives.

Spanish Impact on the California Ecosystem

Some historians, like Dr. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., a professor at the University of Southern California, Department of History, do not believe the notion of a California Eden and Native Californian utopia. Nunis argues that the Indigenous people were living on the edge and had no real food supplies to live on. Pestilence, droughts, and other natural phenomenon that occurred disrupted the food cycle. He claims that Native American supplements were primitive at best.⁴¹ The Franciscans, on the other hand, bore two significant materials, goods and food. This backs up the concept given by Betty Goerke who briefly discussed causes for Indians being lured to the missions. The missions were a reliable source of food that the Indians turned to. Nunis further states that the Indigenous people “had to really grub for a living...that living meant just eating and staying alive.”⁴²

A second reinforcement to Nunis’s stance in favor of the missions is the research of Dr. Harry Kelsey, the Chief Curator at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. He also presents the concept that the Natives were “living off the bare edge of

³⁹ Goerke, *Chief Marin*, 28-29.

⁴⁰ Galvan, “People of the West: Ohlone Story,” 9.

⁴¹ Dr. Doyce B. Nunis Jr., “Interview.” In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, 441-49 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991), 444.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 448.

existence”⁴³ and were in turn delighted to come to the missions. He then goes on to further back up his claim saying:

They competed with people in adjoining areas for food and firewood and water and everything else. This idea that they lived in a sort of pastoral Eden, in perfect peace with one another, is just the greatest malarkey. There’s absolutely no truth to it at all. There are records that go as far as 1542, when the first explorers came here, that the Indians fought continually with one another, and also that many times they were on the verge of starvation.⁴⁴

However, there are flaws with both Kelsey and Nunis’s arguments. In a countering critique, Castillo claims that both Kelsey and Nunis are giving a view more encircled around notions of Eurocentrism.⁴⁵ Kelsey, for example, is noted as being a church activist. Therefore, his view is possibly drawn in favor of the Catholic faith. Kelsey also makes claims based on charges that are, as Castillo puts it, “completely unsupported by reliable documentation.”⁴⁶ For example, Kelsey’s statement, that the first explorers saw the hostility of the Native Americans towards each other, and were always on the verge of starvation, has its flaws. He does not describe the precise location where these first explorers saw the hostile Natives. Numerous primary accounts about California’s environmental abundance, left by Franciscans and visitors of early California, contradict Kelsey and Nunis’s claims. One description of Alta California’s natural splendor was written by Jean Francois de La Perouse, commander of the first foreign expedition to visit the Spanish colonies in the California region. He describes the bountiful lushness of the California coast. In his Journal, La Perouse writes:

⁴³ Dr. Harry Kelsey, “Interview,” In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, 451-54 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991), 452.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 452.

⁴⁵ Castillo, *Spanish Borderland*, xxxv.

⁴⁶ Ibid., xxxv.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Indians of California cultivated nothing but a small quantity of maize, and subsided almost entirely by fishing and hunting. No country is more abundant in fish and game of every description. Hares, rabbits, and deer are extremely common; seals and otters as abundant as in the more northern parts; and in the winter they kill a great number of bears, foxes, wolves, and wildcats.⁴⁷

La Perouse's description is supported by the first chapter written by co-editor Rupert Costo in a series of critical analysis essays in *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*. He notes that California Indians had a bounty they collected by means of harvesting or hunting and gathering. Acorns were abundant and consumed much like present-day bread. "Pine nuts were made into soup."⁴⁸ Fishing was a daily routine, and the Natives developed their own navigational system to help locate fish runs, ocean currents, and maintain knowledge of California water systems.⁴⁹

If there was such an abundance of natural resources and endless amount of game, how is it that the Indians were drawn to the missions out of desperation for food? One theory is presented by Florence Connolly Shippek who wrote her concept of food deprivation of Native Californians in the essay titled "Saints or Oppressors: The Franciscan Missionaries in California." She explains that up until the Spanish arrival, the Indians were well off. Native Californians had their own style of cultivation. However, this method was not at all like the plowed fields the Spanish were used to seeing. Instead, the native cultivation seemed somewhat wilder, at times mistaken as "natural pastures"

⁴⁷ Malcolm Margolin, *Monterey in 1786: Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean François de la Perouse* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1989), 64.

⁴⁸ Rupert Costo, and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California: A legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987), 12.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

by the Spanish.⁵⁰ The arrival and establishment of the missions and presidios drastically reduced the Indian food sources.

With the introduction of domesticated animals like sheep, cows, and horses, these grazers ate away at the cultivated food supplies of Indian towns and villages.⁵¹ During the drought seasons, mission grazing animals stripped hillsides bare where emergency food supplies, for the Indians, were located.⁵² Free roaming domestics went wherever they pleased and destroyed a great deal of the native crop.⁵³ Cattle, for example, were a common feature within the mission economy.⁵⁴ They were a significant problem for the Indians, depleting village food storages.⁵⁵

Overgrazing also increased the effects of erosion. Thus “many lush grass covered valleys, small marshes and surface running water disappeared after overgrazing periods.”⁵⁶ Shipek notes that because domestic animals were introduced into California, native wildlife such as deer, rabbits, mountain sheep, antelope, and an abundance of other herbivores diminished.⁵⁷ As cattle and sheep expanded their grazing territories and ate all food bounties, native animals were left with no food and the populations of certain species drastically depleted.⁵⁸ This hit the Native Californians hard who relied on wild grazers as a supplement. This phenomenon of native flora and fauna replaced by foreign species is termed in economics as ecological imperialism.⁵⁹

⁵⁰ Florence Connolly Shipek, “Saints or Oppressors: The Franciscan Missionaries of California,” In *The Missions of California: A legacy of Genocide*, ed. Rupert Costo and Jeanette Henry Costo, 29-47 (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987), 35.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 36.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁵⁴ Jeannette Henry Costo, “The Sword and the Cross: The Missions of California,” in *The Missions of California: A legacy of Genocide*, ed. Costo, Rupert, and Jeannette Henry Costo (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987), 60.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁵⁶ Shipek, “Saints or Oppressors,” 36.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁵⁹ Global Political Economy Lecture Notes (Fall Semester 2006).

Spanish agriculture took over the fertile lands and staple crops like barley, corn, and wheat were planted. However, unlike the crops of Indigenous Californians, European crops were dependent on rainfall patterns.⁶⁰ Oak and pine trees were purposely planted by the Native Californians to act as a supplement.⁶¹ The Spanish, on the other hand, didn't recognize oak and pine trees as cultivated crops. They concluded that these trees were naturally growing. Thus, without a second thought, many of the oaks and pines were cut down for the purpose of constructing buildings and tanning hides, further reducing the natural bounty.⁶² With this decrease in resources, starvation became rampant. This caused the Indians to flock to the missions in droves as the Mission Period progressed because of the Spanish effects of agriculture on the native ecology. Either way, the missions eventually gained a large number of conversions in the latter half of the mission era.

Daily Life and Conduct at the Missions

Within the missions, Indigenous peoples encountered the rigors of Franciscan life. Native Californians, first of all, had no idea of what it meant to convert and become a part of the Catholic faith. They didn't know the church doctrine. Had they foreseen the harsh regimen expected of obedient Catholics, they might have reconsidered. But desperation gripped many of the Native California people. Once converted, they were labeled Neophytes, which was a term used to identify Indians who accepted the way of the church and had chosen to live on the mission.⁶³ They were distinguished from their

⁶⁰ Shippek, "Saints of Oppressors," 36.

⁶¹ Ibid., 35.

⁶² Ibid., 36.

⁶³ James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 14.

unconverted counterparts who were given the name Gentiles.⁶⁴ As a result, Neophyte Indians had higher status and were considered part of the “gente de razon”⁶⁵ or people of reason because they embraced the new way. Even Juan Bautista de Anza reflected in his journal his opinion on the difference between Neophytes and Gentiles. This entry written for Sunday, April 10 to Monday, April 18, 1774, regards the interaction between a young Neophyte boy, who wished to join the expedition away from Mission San Gabriel, and Father Francisco Garces.⁶⁶ According to de Anza:

Because the youth was a Christian, Garces judged him...to be capable of speaking for himself...In accepting the boy...the priest had discarded parental authority because he considered the youth a ‘person of reason,’ whereas his non-Christian parents were considered of inferior standing...In the end, Garces agreed to return the boy...but he never admitted any wrong doing, still believing the boy to be capable of making his own decision.⁶⁷

As baptized Indians, the Neophytes were to remain at the missions at all times. Of course there were occasions where Neophytes were allowed off Mission grounds, but only by permission and for a specific period of time. However, because they were part of the system, Neophytes were expected to live the life set by the padres. James A. Sandos, who wrote for *The American Historical Review*, states that “once an Indian accepted Roman Catholicism as symbolized by baptism, the Neophyte had to live according to the church’s precepts.”⁶⁸ As earlier mentioned, the California Indians were accustomed to a more hunting and gathering societal structure and did not live under a strict daily schedule. Such an at-ease life was unacceptable to the Franciscans. In accordance with

⁶⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁶⁵ Martha Vought, “Shamans and Padres: The Religion of the Southern California Missions,” In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, ed. Edward D. Castillo, 203-13 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991), 206.

⁶⁶ Vladimir Guerrero, *The Anza Trail and the Settling of California* (Santa Clara: Santa Clara University. 2006), 64.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 64.

⁶⁸ James A. Sandos, “Junipero Serra’s Canonization and the Historical Record,” *The American Historical Review* 93, no. 5 (Dec. 1998), 1254.

the Catholic Church, hard work is the norm and hard work was what the Franciscans imposed. Thus, daily routines were given to the Neophytes, including morning and evening masses that took place every day. The daily routine always started in the early morning with the chiming of the bells, calling the congregation to morning mass. Mass lasted for an hour, but not without incident.⁶⁹ Overseers would be stationed about the church, armed with prods, whips, or strands, prepared to strike anyone who was either not paying attention or was nodding off during the service.⁷⁰

Breakfast came after the service, which was prepared by the women. The meal was called *atole*, a mixed mush of ground corn or barley that was cooked in large cauldrons.⁷¹ After meal time, the daily work began. According to Goerke, Neophyte men spent the day engaged in their labors, plowed and tended the fields, and herded sheep or cattle. Those working away from the mission were accompanied by soldiers.⁷² Some men and older boys were sent to the shops where they were taught the art of being blacksmiths, tanners, carpenters, and brick and tile makers.⁷³ Small boys were sent into the fields to scare away any birds that might eat the produce.

Sandos notes that there was also a hierarchy amongst the working Neophyte men. This hierarchy was separated into four different levels. The first consisted of the skilled artisans, like the masons, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, the cart and saddle makers, weavers, and tanners. The second category was the fishermen, the stockmen, and the herdsmen, such as vaqueros or cowboys, butchers, tallow cleaners, hide cleaners, and meat curers. The third category was the horticulturalists. These Neophytes were

⁶⁹ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 115.

⁷⁰ Phillips, "Indians and the Breakdown," 387.

⁷¹ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 115.

⁷² Goerke, *Chief Marin*, 51.

⁷³ Stodder, *Archives of California Prehistory*, 27.

responsible for overseeing agricultural activity, such as planting, pruning, and tending to the gardens and orchards on the mission grounds. Then, there were the laborers and field hands. They created tiles for the mission roof, plowed the land, and planted and harvested cereal crops.⁷⁴ There was also a class of Neophyte men who participated as members of the church choir. These selected few surpassed even the artisans in status. Because they were responsible for singing songs, they were the most learned of the Spanish language and acted as interpreters between the Franciscans and other Neophytes.⁷⁵

Some Neophytes, however, gained positions of authority. These were the *alcaldes*, or the overseers. These individuals, described by George Harwood Phillips, were the ones “most acculturated and the most favored.”⁷⁶ They carried out the orders of the clergy. Visitors to the missions described some of the *alcaldes* as very lazy individuals who enjoyed seeing the hard labors of others.⁷⁷ At Mission San Luis Rey, the *alcaldes* brought the whip or the rod upon those who fell short of their assigned labor.⁷⁸ Even during mass attendance, some visitors found it rather unusual to see groups of Neophytes being forcibly led to the chapel under threat of the whip by the *alcaldes*.⁷⁹ However, Betty Goerke offers one perspective to why the *alcaldes* were so harsh. She explains that *alcaldes* had to control groups of Neophytes who were their traditional enemies, so that the *alcaldes* would not show as much compassion as they usually would if the ones they were overseeing were members of their own community.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Sandos, *Converting California*, 9.

⁷⁵ Mendoza, Ruben, “Perceptions of California Indians during the Mission Period” (lecture, California State University Monterey Bay, Monterey, March 11, 2008).

⁷⁶ Phillips, “Indians and the Breakdown,” 387.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 387.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 387.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 387.

⁸⁰ Goerke, *Chief Marin*, 55.

Either way, laboring was hard, especially under the continuous watchful eye of the padres, the soldiers, and the alcaldes. As mentioned earlier, because California Indians did not base their societal structure around agriculture, they did not have any reason to develop any systematic work day. If agricultural cultivation was needed, the Natives used their ingenuity to plant crops that could survive through years of drought and required little attention.⁸¹ But European style farming took a lot of time and was more laborious, especially when handling crops like corn, wheat, and barley that were always in need of water and continuously required maintenance.⁸² Farming was significant in mission economics, so successful crops were necessary. The padres followed a strict timetable. Neophytes worked six days a week for up to five to eight hours per day. But because they were not used to such strenuous tasks, at times Neophytes became agitated and quit, took prolonged rests, or simply defied the word of the padres.⁸³ This behavior was not tolerated and Indians caught not keeping their daily quota were subsequently punished by the padres or the alcaldes either by imprisonment, shackling, or the most common practice, flogging.⁸⁴

The men had a rough time with the intensive laboring, but the women had it worse. They were left to do the domestic work. Although domestics were part of the female labor regimen even before the Spanish came, the conduct at the missions, as noted by Jackson and Castillo, only permitted men to harvest and tend to the fields which was traditionally a role reserved for women. This caused psychological disorientation. The

⁸¹ Shipek, "*Saints or Oppressors*," 34-5.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 36.

⁸³ Heizer, "Impact of Colonization," 162.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 162.

men were displeased with performing the tasks they considered to be women's labor.⁸⁵

All the while, women were stuck with indoor jobs like weaving, sewing, cooking, or spinning yarn.⁸⁶

The mission system prevented women from maintaining the same amount of autonomy they had before conversion. According to Daniel Fogel, though Native American society was male dominated, women had a certain amount of importance. Men and boys formed their own societal structure so as "to bolster their egos, strengthen their self-confidence, and validate their sense of worth."⁸⁷ Compared to the women, men saw themselves as being insignificant. Women did not envy men because they knew they upheld the most important task, and that was giving birth.⁸⁸ The central role of women as mothers was thus a powerful entity all itself. Fogel continues on to say that women also acted as shaman. They were more powerful "in spiritual and curative roles than civic ones."⁸⁹ However, under Spanish and Franciscan control, such valued aspects of Native California women were discarded and female Neophytes were placed in completely subordinate roles.

The most well-documented incidences of Neophyte women in the missions is that they were confined into dormitories called *monjerias*, or nunneries, that were in most cases unsanitary, cramped, and severely lacking in privacy.⁹⁰ According to Stodder, "girls older than nine years, and all unmarried or widowed women, including women

⁸⁵ Jackson, Robert H., and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995), 50.

⁸⁶ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 115.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁹⁰ Stodder, *Archives of California History*, 26.

whose husbands were temporarily absent,”⁹¹ were confined in this space “with very little ventilation, poor light and heating facilities, and sometimes bed less.”⁹² As many as two hundred and fifty women were held in this facility at a time. Each person was provided a space of seven feet by two feet. The monjerias were locked up every night to prevent anyone from going in, or coming out.⁹³ Men and boys were also placed in dormitories. But unlike the women, as Fogel explains, they were not restricted to their quarters during the night and were allowed to move about freely in the evening.⁹⁴ Yet, women weren’t permitted that type of leisure, not even during the day time. They even had to do their laboring tasks in the monjerias, such as weaving on the looms that were stationed indoors. Robert Heizer’s explanation coincides with both Stodder and Fogel, regarding the function of the monjeria. These facilities were meant to stop any possible engagement of sexual activity.⁹⁵ The Franciscans justified their actions, believing that confining girls to their quarters was the best way to prevent acts of rape or premarital sex by soldiers, settlers, or other male Neophytes.⁹⁶

Diseases

Women were held in the dormitories until they were finally married. Only then were they released from the confinement. Because the women were held in this reserved space, with very little room and lack of sanitation, the monjeria was a breeding ground for sickness. These diseases killed many, especially when there was no immunity to bacterial and viral ailments that the Spanish padres and soldiers were already highly

⁹¹ Ibid., 26.

⁹² Ibid., 26.

⁹³ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 133.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 118.

⁹⁵ Heizer, “Impact of Colonization,” 164.

⁹⁶ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 133.

immune to.⁹⁷ Native Californians had no such immunity. Thus, the mortality rates were even greater.

However, bacterial and viral diseases were not part of missionary knowledge. Medical practices were not fully developed back then. Nunis points out that “the germ theory was not hypothesized until 1841, and not proven until 1870.”⁹⁸ A large number of people confined in such limited space resulted in an increased amount of human waste, which contributed to the spread of sickness. European doctors and scientists of the early nineteenth century didn’t understand the relationship between sanitation and the spread of diseases. Communities and neighborhoods, particularly the impoverished areas, bore characteristics such as overcrowding and the lack of, or non-existence, of sanitation.⁹⁹ Thus, ailments and outbreaks of diseases were frequent. The missions were such an example. The confined areas created perfect breeding grounds for bacterial and viral sicknesses to spread.

Unlike the Neophytes, however, Gentiles lived outside the confinements of the mission. Goerke explains that the natural Indian lifestyle was healthier. She sets as an example some non-mission Indian elders who were part of the Coastal Miwok community at Tomales. They lived in little contact with the missions. Of thirty elders ranging from ages sixty to eighty, only four were blind and two were blind and deaf.¹⁰⁰ This supports the view that Native American life was not a strenuous attempt to survive as Nunis and Kelsey claim and that natural healing practice was not as useless as supposed. Because Gentiles were not confined into one space, unsanitary conditions were

⁹⁷ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 133.

⁹⁸ Nunis, “Interview,” 443.

⁹⁹ Jackson; Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization*, 48.

¹⁰⁰ Goerke, *Chief Marin*, 82.

avoided. Gentiles also had access to natural herbs and condiments that allowed them to prepare remedies for sickness.¹⁰¹ Also, according to Jeanette Henry Costo, the average Native communities numbered from thirty to a hundred members.¹⁰² This, along with the non-confinement in a single area, further prevented the spread of diseases via unsanitary conditions. However, within the missions, from fifty to six hundred were confined to the grounds. Phillips says that as many as two thousand Neophytes could be confined at the missions.¹⁰³ The missions required a lot of hands to help with the daily activities. But the confined space also increased the chances of disease outbreaks.¹⁰⁴

Of the majority of mortalities in the missions, the elderly, female, and child populations suffered the worst. Young children and infants were highly susceptible to disease because their immune systems were less resistant and more underdeveloped than the adults. According to Stodder, the reason for so many deaths was due to malnutrition, related to the quality and quantity of food. As mentioned earlier, the Native Californians ate a mixed porridge of barley or corn called atole. This or another concoction called pozoles, another soup style, were the dishes that the Native Californians consumed three times a day. These mixtures did not offer the same amount of nutritional values as the native food sources.¹⁰⁵ Eating such meals on a daily basis became monotonous. Fogel notes that at first, during the early days of the period, the friars were flexible and allowed the Neophytes to go out to hunt and gather, especially during times of bad harvest if there were problems with the food supply. But, as Stodder points out, once the harvest became

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 82.

¹⁰² Costo, *The Missions of California*, 58.

¹⁰³ Phillips, "Indians and the Breakdown," 387.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 387.

¹⁰⁵ Stodder, *Archives of California History*, 33.

more efficient, freedom to hunt and gather was more restricted.¹⁰⁶ Meats were eventually withheld from Native diets altogether, except for Catholic feast days that went on annually.¹⁰⁷ This, along with less-than-satisfactory living conditions, accelerated the number of fatalities. Let's reexamine the monjerias. The lack of sanitation increased the outbreaks of sickness, particularly Tuberculosis, Cholera, and pneumonia. Tuberculosis spread as a result of poor ventilation.¹⁰⁸ The women's dormitory, because of its overcrowding and lack of sufficient air circulation, made it easier for individuals to contract tuberculosis. Outbreaks of pneumonia and cholera also took their toll. Syphilis was extremely destructive amongst the Neophytes, particularly on women. The disease was first contracted from the Spanish who infected the Neophyte women, further spreading the pestilence within the female population confined in the mission.¹⁰⁹ Fogel gives his view that such transmission of syphilis occurred due to the raping of California Indian women by Spanish soldiers and civilians.¹¹⁰

According to Rebecca Bales, Ph. D., a professor at the California State University of Monterey Bay and specialist in Native American History, soldiers acted as guards for the monjerias. Unfortunately, these guards were young men who were sexually active, not as moral as expected, and were within an occupied territory scarce of Spanish females. Therefore, it was not uncommon for these men to take advantage of female Neophytes held in a confined space like the monjeria.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 33.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 33.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 41.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 41.

¹¹⁰ Fogel, Junipero Serra, 122.

¹¹¹ Bales, "Native Americans and the California Mission Period" (lecture)

Syphilis spread quickly amidst the Neophyte women. The disease not only had the capacity to kill the infected victim directly, but syphilis also affected the unborn babies of women already pregnant. Infected babies were born dead or died not long after conception. Women who survived could become sterile. This drastically affected the population of mission Neophytes. Syphilis also weakened the immunity of the Indians, making them susceptible to other diseases.¹¹²

Discipline and Punishment

However, the most documented incidences surrounding the Mission Period regard the concept of discipline and punishment. The methods used to keep the Neophytes in line and to maintain order within the colony were barbarous. But why were such methods used? And what is it that made the Spanish way of discipline so terrifying to the Natives? During the course of the day, Neophytes were expected to work from dawn until dusk. Any lack of productivity or displaying any laziness resulted in punishment. Punishment ranged from imprisonment, to spending time in the stocks, to being shackled.

Of all these practices, the worse and most common form was scourging, flogging, or whipping. The smallest misconduct by a Neophyte resulted in flogging. During mass, alcaldes or soldiers were stationed about the church, overlooking the congregation, making sure that none of the Neophytes were inattentive during the service.¹¹³ Daily laboring was especially tedious. It was the Neophytes' engagement in their working tasks that required closer observations from the alcaldes and missionaries. Once again, because agriculture was the lifeline for the Franciscan missions, it was essential that successful

¹¹² Stodder, *Archives of California History*, 33.

¹¹³ Phillips, "Indians and the Breakdown," 387.

planting occur as often as possible.¹¹⁴ Heizer mentions that “if production was not maintained, there would not be enough to eat.”¹¹⁵ Reasoning may have had little effect with the Neophytes, so the padres regressed to using harsher punishments to keep them working more efficiently.¹¹⁶

According to Heizer, there are two categories under which corporal punishment was enforced. The first was criminal. Examples include murder, assault, theft, rape, sodomy, and armed robbery,¹¹⁷ basically acts against a person. The second category was political, such as fugitivism, refusal to fulfill tasks, conspiracy, destruction of military or mission properties, or assaults on soldiers or padres.¹¹⁸ Goerke notes that a Neophyte who dared to throw a stone at one of the stationed soldiers received twenty-five lashes for his assault.¹¹⁹ Fogel gives an example of a number of strokes inflicted upon the bare back of a Neophyte, depending upon the severity of the crime or act.¹²⁰ The maximum number of strokes at any one time could reach to as many as fifty. And for those acts extremely heinous, such as an assault on a friar, the sentence could be twenty-five lashes daily for the course of nine days, plus a whipping on Sunday for nine Sundays.¹²¹ The whipping was usually executed by either a soldier or an Indian bailiff. Of course there were times when the Neophyte might beg forgiveness. As a result, the force of the whipping might be reduced, but the number of strokes remained the same. For lesser offenses, bruises or drawing of blood were to be avoided.¹²²

¹¹⁴ Heizer, “Impact of Colonization,” 128.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 128.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 128.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 128.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 128.

¹¹⁹ Goerke, *Chief Marin*, 61.

¹²⁰ Fogel, Junipero Serra, 130.

¹²¹ Ibid., 130.

¹²² Ibid., 131.

The way floggings were administered differed between men and women though. Fogel notes that Neophytes, both male and female, were subject to scourging for lack of piety or committing sins.¹²³ However, the manner in which they were flogged contrasted dramatically. Men were whipped before the entire congregation, soldiers, padres, Neophytes, and all present.¹²⁴ Jackson and Castillo note that flogging not only damaged the body physically, but the public spectacle was just as demeaning. The individual being scourged was not only publicly humiliated, but they also suffered loss of status. A Neophyte of high regards who was whipped might also lose affection from amongst the other converts, thereby lowering that individual's recognition.¹²⁵ Women, however, were not given the same treatment as men. This doesn't mean that the lashings were any less gruesome, but Neophyte women were not subjected to public humiliation like their male counterparts. Instead, women were whipped in secret. La Perouse wrote in his journal, "Women were never flogged in public, but in an enclosed and somewhat distant place that their cries may not excite too lively a compassion, which might cause the men to revolt."¹²⁶ Fogel notes that such secluded scourging of women took place in the *monjeria*. The whipping itself was done by a woman supervisor, or *maestra*.¹²⁷ Heizer also notes that Neophyte "women were being punished separately and privately. Public punishment of women caused much unrest among the men, hence the privacy."¹²⁸

Father Francis F. Guest explains the only reason why whipping seems so horrible is that from a contemporary American perspective, we perceive the "Franciscan

¹²³ Ibid., 131.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 131.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 131.

¹²⁶ Margolin, *Monterey in 1786*, 89.

¹²⁷ Fogel, Junipero Serra, 130.

¹²⁸ Heizer, "Impact of Colonization," 163.

missionaries as callous and brutal.”¹²⁹ However, he goes on to explain that at the time floggings were a part of the cultural norm in Spain and all of Europe for that matter. Boys in “lower and middle classes in elementary and secondary schools were accustomed to severe punishments for not having studied and learned their lessons.”¹³⁰ Whipping not only applied to the schoolroom, but also to the daily, domestic, religious, and social life of Spanish society. Disobedient children were whipped, prisoners were flogged for their crimes, and servants were beaten by their masters.¹³¹ Hence, whipping was never really considered an issue. Even members of the clergy performed acts of self-flagellation, in which they would sling the whip over their shoulders to strike their own backs.

Father Junipero Serra himself engaged in self-flagellation. He was devout in his faith and followed the Franciscan standards, which included self-flagellation. When a single sinful thought entered his mind, he would throw the lash upon his back. One such act took place in Mexico. Serra wished to repent for the sins of the people, so he started to flog himself. So intense was his self-punishment that a man from the crowd stayed Serra’s hand, took the whip and started lashing himself in exchange, declaring, “I am the sinner who is ungrateful to God who ought to do penance for my many sins, and not the padre who is a saint.”¹³²

Hence, the punishment inflicted upon the Neophyte was commensurate with the punishment that the padres inflicted upon themselves at least three times a week.¹³³ Guest concludes that the mission disciplinary measures must be looked at from a Spanish,

¹²⁹ Guest, Francis F. O.F.M., “Cultural Perspectives on Death and Whipping in the Missions,” In *Major Problems in California History*, edited by Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, 70-75 (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), 73.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 72.

¹³¹ Ibid., 72.

¹³² Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 48.

¹³³ Guest, “Cultural Perspectives,” 74.

eighteenth century point of view rather than a twentieth or twenty-first century American point of view.¹³⁴

However, there are conflicting ideas. Though Guest takes into consideration that the practice of flogging and other such punishments used in the missions must be seen through the view of eighteenth century standards, he does not take into account the perspectives of Native Californians. Fogel argues discipline, by California Native standards, did not include acts of public humiliation. Instead, children were treated fairly, without malice. According to Rebecca Bales, the system of discipline functioned by isolating a troubled child from the rest of their peers, not exposing that child to the activities of other children. By a modern perspective, this method of discipline would be looked at as grounding.¹³⁵ As a result, that troubled child lost status amongst the other boys and girls, which marked them as sort of an odd duck, or the only individual who wasn't in the "in-crowd" so to speak.¹³⁶ This style of system, in turn, offered a less severe and more compassionate method of repentance. If a member of the community stole an item that belonged to another member of the community, either the thief returned what they stole, or offered an item of equal value in return.¹³⁷ If a person was assaulted, they were compensated by the one who assaulted them. Even if someone was murdered, the family was reimbursed by the murderer. At times, murder was justified by blood revenge, but only after consulting with the chief.¹³⁸ Imprisonment, shackling, or whipping, were unknown to the Indigenous people. It wasn't until the arrival of the Spanish that the California Natives were introduced to such methods of public humiliation. No doubt they

¹³⁴ Ibid., 75.

¹³⁵ Bales, "Native Americans and the California Mission Period" (lecture)

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 104.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 105.

found these techniques appalling. The concept of self-flagellation is also put into question. Though Guest says that missionaries self-flagellated themselves on a weekly basis, he forgot to note that self-flagellation was a voluntary act on the part of the Franciscans.¹³⁹ They viewed whipping their bare flesh as a necessity and as part of their religious faith. The Indigenous people, however, never had such exposure, perhaps not understanding what the practice meant.

Eventually, the loss of food and land, forced conversions, punishments, beatings, and abuse, pushed the Native Californians over the edge. Both Neophyte and Gentile developed feelings of scorn towards their Spanish colonizers, whether in general or towards a certain group or person. Either way, this anti-Spanish sentiment led to a final resolve, resistance.

Resistance

Resistance took several forms. Some were subtle and individual, while others were extreme involving large numbers. In the case of the Neophytes and local California peoples during the Mission Period, four types of resistance against the Spanish establishment were apparent. The first of these were individual assassinations in which Neophytes would target a specific person who was considered cruel or oppressive.¹⁴⁰ One such example of assassination was against Father Andres Quintana at Mission Santa Cruz in the year 1812. Deemed oppressive by the Neophytes, a handful of the conspirators planned his murder.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 132.

¹⁴⁰ Lorenzo Asisara, "The Killing of Fr. Andres Quintana at Mission Santa Cruz," In *Lands of Promise and Despair*, edited by Rose Mary Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, 284-92 (Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001), 285.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 285.

The story of Quintana's death was passed down by the son of Venancio Asar, Lorenzo Asisara. The account he told was interpreted and written by Thomas Savage on June 10, 1877, when he interviewed the old residents of California, including scores of the elderly who were present even before the takeover of California by the United States in 1846.¹⁴² Lorenzo Asisara was a former Neophyte who was born and raised at the Mission Santa Cruz. Lorenzo's father, Venancio, who was the gardener at the Mission Santa Cruz, was also one of the conspirators who helped initiate the death of Father Quintana. Venancio told Lorenzo of the events that took place on the night of Quintana's assassination. The conspirators enticed Father Quintana to leave his quarters to help aid Julian, another Neophyte gardener whose role was to pretend he was gravely ill.¹⁴³ Thus the Neophytes led Father Quintana out into the open where he could be restrained by the conspirators and killed.

The first few opportunities to kill Father Quintana failed because the Neophytes chosen to carry out the killing lost their nerve. But after four tries, they finally succeeded. Lorenzo gives a detailed description of how Father Quintana was killed. As interpreted in his story, Lorenzo says:

They covered the father's mouth with his own cape to strangle him. They held his arms tightly secured. After the Father had been strangled [they did not beat him up] took a testicle so that it would not be obvious that he had been attacked, and in a moment Father expired. Then Lino and the others took him to his house and put him on the bed.¹⁴⁴

As a closing thought, Lorenzo expresses his own harsh feelings towards the Spanish padres. Like so many other Native Californians who were taken into the

¹⁴² Ibid., 284.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 286.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 287-288.

missions, Lorenzo experienced the harshness and oppressiveness of the padres and the other Spanish overseers. According to Lorenzo:

The Spanish Fathers were very cruel toward the Indians, They abused them very much. They had bad food, bad clothing, and they made them work like slaves. I also was subject to their cruel life. The fathers did not practice what they preached in the pulpit. The same Father Olbes was once stoned by the Indians for all his cruelties.¹⁴⁵

Another form of resistance was large scale rebellion and uprising by the Neophytes and Native Californian Gentiles against the Spanish. One significant uprising took place at the San Diego Mission in 1775. Father Luis Jayme, the padre in charge of the mission, was caught in the uprising and was killed by the rebels. The rebellion itself was provoked not by the conduct of the padres, as it was with Father Andre Quintana at Mission Santa Cruz, but rather the uprising was provoked by the conduct of the soldiers who were stationed at the mission. Father Jayme even wrote in one of his letters concerning the behavior of the troops stationed at the mission. The soldiers abused their power towards the local peoples at nearby villages, taking advantage of them at every opportunity, knowing that the Indians had no legal means to stop them.¹⁴⁶ Jayme writes:

At one of these Indian villages near the Mission San Diego, which said village is very large, and which is on the road that goes to Monterey, the Gentiles therein many times have been on the point of coming here to kill us all, and the reason for this is that some soldiers went there and raped their women, and other soldiers who were carrying the mail to Monterey turned their animals into their fields and ate up their crops.¹⁴⁷

Despite the obvious abuses that later led to rebellion, Father Jayme took no action against the soldiers in stopping the abuse of the Native Californians. And even if he did, there was no real effect that resulted. Hence, the Indigenous people took matters into their

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 292.

¹⁴⁶ "Father Luis Jayme Criticizes the Behavior of Spanish Soldiers, 1772," In *Major Problems in California History*, edited by Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, 59-60 (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), 59.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 59.

own hands and rose up against the Spanish colonizers, which resulted in the death of Father Luis Jayme. Immediate action was taken to bring the rebels to justice. But even though the murderers of Father Jayme were caught, Father Junipero Serra did not forsake and sentence them for immediate execution. Instead he did the opposite, sympathizing with the Natives. He showed concern for the fate of the culprits' souls in the afterlife. Hence, he wrote a letter expressing compassion towards the guilty assailants. In concern for the condemned Indians, Serra writes:

...As for the murderer, let him live, in order that he should be saved, which is the very purpose of our coming here, and the reason which justifies it...he is being pardoned in accordance with our law, which commands us to forgive injuries; and let us prepare him, not for death, but for eternal life...¹⁴⁸

A second significant uprising took place at the missions Santa Ynez and La Purisima Concepcion a couple years after Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821. From the beginning, there had been tensions at these two missions due to the harsh regimen of the priests and the abusive actions taken by the soldiers who on countless occasions "requisitioned foodstuffs, clothing, and other goods produced by the mission Indians."¹⁴⁹ However, the boiling point came in early 1824. The death of Friar Jose Senan, in the summer of 1823, and the appearance of a comet that December, were interpreted by the California Indians that there would be a revival of the old ways of worship and cultural identity.¹⁵⁰ The uprising occurred when a visiting Neophyte was flogged. His punishment triggered the revolt. The soldiers were showered with arrows by

¹⁴⁸ "Junipero Serra Reports the Destruction of the San Diego Mission, 1775," In *Major Problems in California History*, edited by Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, 60-62 (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), 62.

¹⁴⁹ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 153.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 153.

the Santa Ynez rebels and were placed under siege within the mission.¹⁵¹ Mexican soldiers were sent to suppress the uprising. However, by the time reinforcements reached Santa Ynez, the rebels had made their way to Mission La Purisima Concepcion, driving off the troops stationed there and fortifying themselves in the adobe buildings.¹⁵²

The rebels sent messengers to San Buenaventura, hoping that the Neophytes there would join in their uprising, but the courier was turned in to the military. Santa Barbara, however, joined the uprising. After a quick takeover of the mission, the rebels fled into the hills.¹⁵³

By March 16, 1824, a force of a hundred and nine Mexican soldiers arrived at La Purisima to suppress the rebellion. However, the Neophytes had numerical superiority with a defending force of some four hundred, including Yukot Gentiles. They had ceremonial cannons, bows and arrows, and muskets at their disposal.¹⁵⁴ But the Mexicans had heavy artillery that proved a significant turning factor in the battle at La Purisima. By the end of the day, one Mexican soldier and sixteen Neophytes lay dead on the field.¹⁵⁵ The Neophytes, despite outnumbering their foe, could not break the Mexican siege. Hoping for negotiations, Father Antonio Rodriguez, a padre who stayed with the rebels, was asked to establish terms with the military.¹⁵⁶

Though padres had some negative reputation amongst the California Indians, they, as Fogel points out, were not usually the primary targets of Neophyte aggression. In his text, he states:

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 153.

¹⁵² Ibid., 153.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 153.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 154.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 154.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 154.

The 1824 uprising was directed at the soldiers as enforcers of mission discipline. The kind treatment which the Neophytes gave the friars even at the height of their revolt showed that, while they hated the mission system, they still respected the friars, viewing them as friendly, or at least neutral, in their conflict with the soldiers.¹⁵⁷

At La Purisima, after negotiations by Father Antonio Rodriquez, the Neophyte stronghold was disbanded and the rebels taken captive. Of those who took part in the uprising, nineteen of the leaders were tried. “Seven were condemned to death, four were sentenced to permanent exile and ten years of presidio labor, and eight were sentenced to eight years of presidio labor.”¹⁵⁸

Fugitivism and Upholding Ancient Traditions

The most common form of resistance was flight from the mission altogether, or fugitivism. To many Neophytes, the harshness of mission life and the strict discipline of the padres were too much for them to bear. Unlike the old ways, mission life for the Neophytes was a day by day existence in laboring only for the mission’s benefits and receiving little if nothing in return. The Neophytes had to practice an unfamiliar religion, speak the language of their oppressors, were continuously watched by padres and their military overseers, and suffered severe punishment if they were defiant or showed any form of misconduct.¹⁵⁹ Neophytes had to obey. Not to do so resulted in harsh consequences. Thus, the best and most effective way of eluding such a lifestyle was to abandon it. So it was a frequent occurrence for Neophytes to run off. Examples of these cases were recorded by the authorities at the Mission San Francisco, who also wrote down the motive for Neophytes deserting. One Native said that “he was hungry. He

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 155.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 154.

¹⁵⁹ Heizer, “Impact of Colonization,” 166.

absconded previously and, when he returned, he was given twenty-five lashes.”¹⁶⁰ Another explained that “he became sick.”¹⁶¹ Another Neophyte pointed out that “His wife and son had run away from their country, and at the mission he was beaten a great deal.”¹⁶² A fourth Neophyte claimed that “His wife sinned with a rancher, and the priest beat him for not taking care of her.”¹⁶³

Flight from the missions reached epidemic proportions. So great was desertion, that the padres called out the military to aid in recapturing runaways. To the friars, the Neophytes were an exceedingly important source of labor. The Natives were the ones who kept production at the missions going and a drastic depletion in the mission’s prosperity would occur should that work force abandon the tasks it was specifically assigned to carry out.¹⁶⁴ Neophytes had an obligation. Once they accepted baptism and incorporated into the missions, they were forbidden to leave the grounds unless authorized by the padres or placed under guard.¹⁶⁵ But with the frequent acts of fugitivism, the padres had no other choice. They summoned the troops to aid them in the recapture of runaway Neophytes. In some cases, it was not only the soldiers that were dispatched to find deserters. Runaways were “hunted down by soldiers, priests, Indian allies, and sometimes Hispanic civilians.”¹⁶⁶

Not all fugitives were returned by force. There were those who would run away only to return on their own accord. Voluntary returns were triggered by the fact that the fugitive Neophyte might still have loved ones living at the mission and was not prepared

¹⁶⁰ Sherburne F. Cook, “The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization.” In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks*: vol. 26, ed. Edward D. Castillo, 155-73 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991), 108.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁶⁴ Heizer, “Impact of Colonization,” 162.

¹⁶⁵ Cherny; Santangelo; Castillo, *Competing Visions*, 42.

¹⁶⁶ Castillo, “The Native Response,” 428.

to abandon them. It was family bonds and not dedication to the mission way of life that drew deserters back.¹⁶⁷ Those Natives who returned to the missions on their own accord were granted clemency and were spared punishment most of the time, depending upon the attitude of their overseers.¹⁶⁸

For those brought back by force, however, their sentence was not as lenient. Neophytes who deserted and were recaptured could expect a severe punishment, coming in the form of lashings or other unusual methods of punishment.¹⁶⁹ Vassili Petrovitch Tarakanoff, a Russian otter hunter held captive at Mission San Fernando, gives a first hand account at what he witnessed when a few Neophytes, who had attempted to leave the mission, were returned, bound together and heavily guarded. Tarakanoff describes the scene:

At one time some of the natives became dissatisfied, and overnight they all left, except our men who were living among them. The *Indios* had been away for several days when a great number of soldiers came to the mission, they and some of the priests went out and stayed away many, many days, and when they came back they brought most of the natives. They were bound with rawhide ropes, and some were bleeding from wounds, and some children were tied to their mothers.¹⁷⁰

He later describes some of the methods of punishment that the Spanish inflicted upon the runaways. While there were those who received the standard whipping, there were those unlucky few who underwent a bizarre method. Tarakanoff continues his observation saying:

Some of the runaway men were tied on sticks and beaten with straps. One chief was taken out to the open field, and a young calf which had just died was skinned, and the chief was sewn into the skin while it was yet warm.

¹⁶⁷ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 141.

¹⁶⁸ Cook, "The Conflict," 108.

¹⁶⁹ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 141.

¹⁷⁰ Vassili Petrovitch Tarakanoff, "Captivity at Mission San Fernando," In *Lands of Promise and Despair*, edited by Rose Mary Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, 293-97 (Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001), 296.

He was kept tied to a stake all day, but he died soon, and they kept his corpse tied up.¹⁷¹

When running away from the missions, Natives usually traveled either individually or in small groups. Those who were running took refuge at Gentile villages.¹⁷² However, Spanish pursuit was persistent and many retrieval parties entered Gentile Indian villages and forcibly dragged the escaped Neophyte away. On occasion, this may have been a first time that the Gentiles had seen white men up close and how they behaved. Therefore, first impressions were not always favorable for the Spanish and gave the Gentiles a good excuse to withhold from ever converting.¹⁷³ As the Mission Period reached its waning stage, fugitivism increased. Retrieval parties who went on the search for runaway Neophytes forcibly brought back Gentile women and children.¹⁷⁴ This further increased the number of fugitives who sought haven from the Spanish and the mission system. However, though not always successful, fugitivism was favored over “the authoritarianism of Franciscan rule.”¹⁷⁵

Another form of resistance against the Franciscans was the maintaining of old Native beliefs. Though the padres did all in their power to see that the old pagan ways of thinking were erased, the Neophytes still held on to their ancestral traditions.¹⁷⁶ They maintained great respect for the shamans and practiced and passed on old knowledge and beliefs. According to Daniel Fogel, the great Chumash Rebellion of 1824 was a result of such beliefs. As stated before, the death of the former father of Mission Santa Inez,

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 296.

¹⁷² Castillo, “The Native Response,” 428.

¹⁷³ Cook, “The Conflict,” 101.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 428.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 428.

¹⁷⁶ Martha Vought, “Shamans and Padres: The Religion of the Southern California Missions,” In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks*: vol. 26, ed. Edward D. Castillo, 203-13 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991), 207.

Father Jose Senan, in 1823, and the appearance of a comet in the sky in December that same year sparked a revival of old customs.¹⁷⁷

Religious resistance was not as intense in some missions as in others. This was due to circumstances the individual missionaries faced. Each mission and each padre had their own policies for dealing with shamanism.¹⁷⁸ Within a mission where its padres felt insecure in their power, Shamanism was seen as witchcraft or devil worship, and those who were caught practicing it were severely punished.¹⁷⁹ However, there were those padres who saw their own inadequacy to care for the Neophytes and thus allowed the shamans to do what was necessary.¹⁸⁰

All in all, however, the impact the mission system had devastating affects on California Indians. The Spanish hoped to indoctrinate the Indigenous Californians into becoming loyal Spanish subjects, training them so that they could fend for themselves, yet at the same time maintain Spanish control over the California territories. However, such an outcome was not to be. Instead, the Indigenous people were scattered, denied open practice of religious and cultural traditions, forbidden to speak their native tongue, and their population rapidly reduced primarily due to the disease and malnutrition that was rampant within each mission. By the end of Spanish rule and the gaining of Mexican Independence in 1821, the Native Californians already lost a great deal. Though secularization came to the missions, the conditions the Indigenous people experienced during the system's operation didn't fully diminish, and it would only get worse as the Mexican and Anglo societies established themselves in California.

¹⁷⁷ Fogel, *Junipero Serra*, 153.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 142.

Current Impact

The impact has lasted even today, and the controversy still rages. Arguments continue on how Native peoples have been represented at the missions. The physical evidence displayed at mission museums and the actual structures give no real detailed account of what kind of existence the Neophytes had during the Mission Period. Even now, their image is known, but seldom remembered. The Native Californians are only mentioned in general with a display of artifacts acting as testimony. For example, the Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo, just south of Monterey, California, only offers an exhibit case bearing Indian baskets, stone mortars and pestles, and necklaces of beads made of shell. However, there is no information on who the Indigenous Californians were as a people, what nation they were from, what specific individuals were enrolled and interned at Mission San Carlos, and what the Neophytes had to endure.¹⁸¹

Mission San Carlos is one of the most conservative and secretive when it comes to the history of Native Californians. Mission Carmel is not only considered the crown jewel of the mission chain, but is also the site where Father Junipero Serra is interned. Therefore, it is only logical that the Mission Carmel would not release the true history of what went on there, fearing that such unveiling might tarnish Serra's name.

There is no doubt the Catholic Church still censors information on California Indians and their role in the Mission Period. A hush-hush policy is still enforced. A clue to why the true Native Californian history is concealed is due to the presence of Catholic schools where young boys and girls are taught their faith. The teachers don't want their students' minds exposed to the dark side of the doctrines they learn. It is my opinion that

¹⁸¹ Museum, Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo.

censorship is enforced for the sake of religious and historical ethics. In other words, the Catholic Church wants to maintain this image of the missions being places of holy sanctuary. Therefore, they do not mention ethnocide or genocide. Since the treatment of California Indians is full of negative incidences, it is in the church's best interest to keep the real history hidden. According to Professor Bales, the Catholic Church today enforces a "hands off" policy, in which they claim that what happened in California during the Mission Period was strictly based on the actions and decisions executed by individuals.¹⁸² Those actions had nothing to do with the church. Church officials claim Catholicism was used as a tool to promote empire building.¹⁸³ Bales also notes that because the missions are today being funded by the generosity of the tourists and the faithful that visit these historic sites, it is best for the mission administration to keep a clean image of the missions and depict the missionaries as benevolent and kind, who did what was best for a supposedly savage and uncivilized people.¹⁸⁴

Professor Ruben Mendoza, Ph.D., a professor at California State University Monterey Bay, specializing in archeology, involved in archeological activities at Mission San Juan Bautista, says differently. Mendoza explains that the Catholic Church is not responsible for omitting Native California history at the missions, but rather it is conflict between present-day Indian nations that sparks the controversy.¹⁸⁵

One example regards the erected statue of Saint John the Baptist located at the front of the chapel at Mission San Juan Bautista. According to Professor Mendoza, in 1997, the statue was originally designed as a memorial commemorating the California

¹⁸² Bales, "Native Americans and the California Mission Period" (lecture).

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Mendoza, "Perceptions of California Indians during the Mission Period" (lecture).

Indians. However, when the plan to first erect the statue was considered and its prototype was presented before Indian representatives from different tribal organizations, there came a massive argument amongst the consultants saying that the figure was not accurate to how the Indigenous people were.¹⁸⁶ If there was to be an Indian commemorative statue erected, each tribal group wanted to have it represent a historical figure from their individual nation.¹⁸⁷ The Mutsun nation wished to use the historical figure of Ascension Solorsano, the last full-blooded Native Californian to die at Mission San Juan Bautista.¹⁸⁸ However, the Coastal Ohlone objected to the idea, believing that Ascension Solorsano did not represent their tribal group.¹⁸⁹ Tempers rose with the meeting ending in insults and obscenities. The statue issue caused such uproar that the project was abandoned for a time. Later, when the statue project was considered and approved, it was decided that the figure would represent Saint John the Baptist instead, so as not to raise further controversy.¹⁹⁰ Professor Mendoza concludes that the arguments set down by different Indian nations is what provokes controversy, preventing full representation of Indigenous California groups at any of the missions.

Professor Gerald Shenk, Ph.D., a professor of California and United States history at California State University of Monterey Bay, explains in a stirring class lecture that cultural identity is determined not only by the traditions and consequences not of a person or people's own making, but also via the means of the history which helped forge that society.¹⁹¹ In the case of the California Missions, these historical structures have been

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Gerald E. Shenk, "Introduction to Domination and Resistance" (lecture, California State University Monterey Bay, Monterey, January 24, 2008).

romanticized. The image of the mission is seen as a precious piece of California history that has endured the course of time since the first Spanish settlements were established. From all over the world, people flock to the missions to admire the architecture, worship in their faith, or have a chance to absorb the history of these long-standing epitaphs of Spanish achievement. For example, it is required that fourth graders learn California history so that they can have a better understanding of the state they live in. And anyone who lives in California can have a heritage that they can be proud of. However, how would such an aspect of pride change should the public realize the true function of the Franciscan missions? How would the mission image change if it is said they were established for the sake of empire building, constructed to eradicate Indigenous culture in exchange for Christianity and western values, and that the image of the happy, repenting, hardworking Neophyte is simply a mythological caricature used to ease the minds of visitors and the faithful alike?

Descendents of the California Indians find that the present history provided by the missions to the general public is extremely diluted. The missions show little or none of the Indian history, despite the fact that Neophytes played a critical role in their prosperity. The Native population continues to speak out against this censorship. In December 2000, Costanoan people protested at the Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo about their lack of or inaccurate representation at the mission site. Chief Tony Cerda declared that the Indians should have a more accurate representation than just the vague description that had been placed for them.¹⁹² James May, who published an article on the event for a subscription of *Indian Country Today*, writes:

¹⁹² James May, "Costanoan Want Recognition From Catholic Mission," *Today Staff*. 13 Dec. 2000. <http://www.indiancountry.com/content.cfm?id=508>. (accessed 19 Sep. 2007), 1.

Cerda acknowledges the mission does not make mention of the Indians of the area, but says the representations are grossly misleading...The Costanoans claim that they never asked the church to let them participate in administration of the mission. Cerda says the tribe only asked for a more accurate historic and cultural representation as well as placing a bronze plaque honoring the Costanoans who forcibly participated in mission life.¹⁹³

The church in response had no problem meeting with Chief Cerda's demands. However, the Costanoans had to provide a significant amount of evidence before such action could take place.¹⁹⁴ Cerda and the Costanoan nation were granted a federal grant of sixty thousand dollars to help fund the collection of that information needed.¹⁹⁵ When the Costanoans finally brought forth what they found, the church began to back off from their offer. No doubt they didn't expect the Costanoans to retrieve enough evidence to support their argument.

Also controversial is the canonization of sainthood to Father Junipero Serra, whom the Costanoans and other California Natives believe exploited the Indian population. According to James May:

The mission is a further source of controversy as it is the final resting place of Father Junipero Serra, who many believed exploited California Indians. Recent attempts by the Catholic Church to grant sainthood to Father Serra have sparked loud protests from California tribes. The Costanoans feel that because of this, it is especially important that they are properly represented at the mission.¹⁹⁶

The work of Sherburne F. Cook, a renowned researcher on the history of the California Indians, is still studied, interpreted, and critiqued by many scholars. Many of those same scholars base their studies and hypotheses on his research. As mentioned in James A. Sandos' essay, "Junipero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record,"

¹⁹³ Ibid., 1.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 1

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 1

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 1.

Cook's work had been interpreted by another esteemed scholar named Carey McWilliams who authored *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land*. McWilliams compared California's missions with Nazi concentration camps during the holocaust, stating that "the Franciscan padres eliminated the Indians with the effect of Nazis operating concentration camps."¹⁹⁷ Some critics, however, have conflicting views of this analysis, believing that comparing the mission system with Nazi concentration camps is far too extreme. Dr. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., backs up this counter argument declaring that "Concentration camps were deliberately set...as a form of organized genocide to destroy people. The missions were never set up to destroy."¹⁹⁸ It is true that the Franciscans had no intention of eradicating the California Indians as living people. However, Nunis forgets the policies passed by the missions, to extinguish the so-called pagan and heathen styles of culture and religion and replace them with western thought and Christian beliefs. So in a way, the Franciscans did deliberately commit destruction. Though the Native Californians were not directly or purposely eradicated, their cultural values were shattered and dispersed. One might say the missions were concentration camps for cultural genocide.

Though the Native Californians of today continue to raise arguments against the censorship of the missions regarding their history, the Indians themselves are divided. According to Rebecca Bales, Native peoples in the Carmel and Monterey areas are also heavily Catholic.¹⁹⁹ While they wish for recognition, some Indians are not willing to fully oppose the religion they have held on to since the founding of the mission system. At the same time, there are also those who are devout Catholics, but still find the canonization

¹⁹⁷ Sandos, "Junipero Serra's Canonization," 1259.

¹⁹⁸ Nunis, "Interview," 448-449.

¹⁹⁹ Bales, "Native Americans and the California Mission Period" (lecture).

of Junipero Serra distasteful. This just goes to show how long the after effects of the Franciscans have endured.

Conclusion

With a past so dark and sinister, it's no surprise that for almost two hundred years the effects of the Mission Period on Native Californians have been concealed. The Spanish empire, hoping to find a new western passage to Asia, instead found the Americas, lands rich with a great plethora of natural resources. They expanded their influence throughout the new world, but feared the encroachment from other rivaling nations who also established claims on the newly discovered continent.

There were limits on how many colonizers Spain could send as well as confronting economic strife. The Spanish monarchs had to create a population capable of defending their vast, newly conquered territory. Thus, they turned to the Indians as a source of manpower. The Spanish did not use the cut and burn tactics in California as they had against the Inca and Aztec Empires during the earlier centuries of their conquest. Instead, they befriended the Natives and incorporated them into the surplus population required to maintain and defend Spain's territories. Through a combination of military might and religious conversion by the Franciscans, under the leadership of Father President Junipero Serra, Spain engaged in an operation of transforming local Indigenous California peoples into Catholics loyal to the Spanish crown.

However, doing so first required enticement of the Indians. Pomp, ceremonies and gift giving were only a few of the methods. However, such techniques produced limited results. Thus, the Spanish attacked the Natives, not directly, but by other means. One method was enticing or luring Indian Children. Spanish soldiers were even sent out to

kidnap children and put them under forced conversion, giving the parents no choice but to flock to the missions as well. Starvation was used as a means to lure the Indigenous communities into the missions, literally exchanging conversion for food.

Once within the missions, Native Californians, renamed Neophytes, endured a much more labor intensive and disciplined style of life. They worked from sunrise to sun down, having to attend morning and evening masses as well. They were taught European styles of cultivation and ways of life, and denied their traditional language and ceremonial customs. Native men were placed in a laboring hierarchy, some having higher positions than others, not unlike the *alcaldes* who oversaw the labor.

The *padres* denied Neophyte women the autonomy they once enjoyed and held them to the confines of the mission to do menial domestic labors. Single, widowed, or women whose husbands were away doing labor on distant *rancherías* were confined in their dormitories, the *monjerías*. The *monjerías* were crowded and unsanitary, lacking proper air circulation, which helped breed an infestation of diseases like tuberculosis and pneumonia. The women were also helpless against soldiers who, though responsible for guarding the women at night, were also responsible for acts of rape and molestation. These acts on Neophyte women helped spread sexually transmitted diseases like syphilis. Cases of malnutrition amongst Neophytes were higher than amongst Gentiles, unconverted Native Californians who were not isolated to the confines of missions and had better access to food.

If order was not kept by the Neophytes, the *padres* responded harshly. Even for the most minor of infractions, the converted Indians were punished, either by spending time in the stocks, being shackled, or imprisoned, and most commonly flogged.

Depending on the intensity of the crime, a Neophyte was subjected to a certain number of painful strokes. Men were whipped before their peers, at times losing status, while women were whipped in the privacy of the *monjeria* by a mistress.

These severe punishments eventually led to forms of rebellion by both Neophytes and Gentiles alike. Individual assassinations were carried out against those particular individuals deemed harsh or oppressive, such as with the murder of Father Andres Quintana at the Mission Santa Cruz. Then there were wide-scale rebellions like what occurred at Mission San Diego in 1775, resulting in the death of Father Luis Jayme. There was also the great Chumash Rebellion that took place in 1824, just a couple of years after Mexican independence. Uprisings were triggered by the abuses towards the Natives by the soldiers whose duties were to act as enforcement to the mission's authority. The padres, though at times targeted, were not the primary antagonists of the Neophytes and Gentiles.

Then there was the most common form of resistance, fugitivism, in which Natives fled from the mission altogether. However, the padres, seeing the population too valuable to lose, sent out soldiers to recapture runaways. These retrieval expeditions were violent at times as soldiers entered the villages of unconverted Gentiles, suspected of harboring escapees, and captured women and children, sending them back to the missions. Some Gentiles, having their very first interaction with the Spanish, became afraid and thus were more reluctant to convert. Those Neophytes who ran away and returned voluntarily, more out of concern of their family's well being who were still confined at the mission, were spared punishment most of the time. Those who were taken back by force had to pay the consequences.

Religious customs and traditions of the Native Californians managed to survive, despite the Franciscan attempt to eradicate them completely. Of course not all missions were the same. While there were those padres who were determined to eliminate supposed pagan and heathen practices, there were also those who allowed Natives to continue practicing the old ways.

Now, present-day Ohlone and other Native Californian peoples are doing their best to see that their own history is accurately portrayed as a significant factor in the history of the mission system. It is not only the religious side of the missions that has to be noticed, but the blood and the suffering that local peoples had to endure under Spanish rule. Even today, though California's general society is more open with information, Native Californian involvement during the Mission Period remains invisible in the eyes of the general public. While there is speculation that the Catholic Church might be withholding certain accounts of California Indian history, present Indian nations are also preventing the missions from accurately representing Native Californians.

The mission system was established to ensure that the Spanish would maintain control over the land they claimed. The Franciscans hoped to enlighten the Indigenous Californians and show them the way to a more civilized way of life. It was their expectation that their efforts and conversions would allow the Indians a new way of thinking, giving way to a higher form of society, abandoning their pagan ideals and their heathen practices altogether. With their will, the Franciscans could banish the old ways of the Native Californians for all time. However, such an outcome did not develop. The Franciscans realized that the Indians were not going to give up their old ways for the sake of the new. Hence, harsh enforcement was needed. But forced conversion and labor only

agitated the situation even more and caused the Indians to resist with stronger determination. In the end, the Native peoples of California were left with nothing but a shattered society. They did not rise to the level of leadership that the Spanish and the Franciscans expected. Instead, they were left broken, impoverished, and segregated by Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American rule. The grandeur of the individual Indigenous cultures either faded into obscurity or become extinct.

Though there are those Native peoples of California who are trying their best to preserve their ancient way of life, or at least a portion of it, for many others it is too late. All this resulted from the mission system and Spanish conquest. Instead of raising the people up, the missions literally destroyed a proud culture. This dark side of the picture is never publicized, even after almost two hundred years since the end of the Mission Period. Nonetheless, it is necessary to face this past and look beneath California's golden image. The missions themselves must accurately represent the Native Californian experience. General textbooks for children and information pamphlets distributed by the missions can't dilute the hardships of California Indians. This is a task that still needs to be confronted. Though concealed, the Native Californian experience still remains, awaiting to become an accurate part of California's history.

Bibliography

- Asisara, Lorenzo. "The Killing of Fr. Andres Quintana at Mission Santa Cruz." In *Lands of Promise and Despair*, edited by Rose Mary Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001, p. 284-92.
- Bales, Rebecca. "Native Americans and the California Mission Period." lecture, California State University Monterey Bay, Monterey, 2007-2008.
- Beebe, Rose Marie, Robert M. Senkewicz. *Lands of Promise and Despair*. Santa Clara: Heyday Books. 2001.
- Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *Fray Juan Crespi: Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast 1769-1774*. New York: AMS Press. 1927.
- Castillo, Edward D. *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991.
- . "An Indian Account of the Decline and Collapse of Mexico's Hegemony over the Missionized Indians in California." *American Indian Quarterly* 13; 4. (1989): p. 391-408.
- . "The Native Response to the Colonization of Alta California." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 423-40.
- Chan, Sucheng and Spencer Olin. *Major Problems in California History*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997.

- Cherny, Robert W, Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, Richard Griswold del Castillo.
Competing Visions: A History of California. New York, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005.
- Cook, Sherburne F. "The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization."
In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 81-128.
- Costo, Rupert and Jeannette Henry Costo. *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*. San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987.
- De Ascencion, Antonio "1620: The First Plan for Missions in California," In *Lands of Promise and Despair*, edited by Rose Mary Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, 51-3. Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001, p. 52-3.
- De Lasuen, Fermin Francisco "From the Refutation of Charges by, 1801," In *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846*, edited by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001, p. 273-276.
- Fogel, Daniel. *Junipero Serra, the Vatican, and Enslavement Theology*. San Francisco: Ism Press, 1988.
- Galvan, P. Michael. "People of the West: Ohlone Story." *The Indian Historian* 1, no. 2. (1968): p. 9-13.
- Goerke, Betty. *Chief Marin: Leader, Rebel, and Legend: A History of Marin County's Namesake and His People*. Berkley: Heyday Books, 2007.
- Guerrero, Vladimir. *The Anza Trail and the Settling of California*. Santa Clara: Santa Clara University, 2006.
- Guest, Francis F. O.F.M. "Cultural Perspectives on Death and Whipping in the Missions." In *Major Problems in California History*, edited by Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997, p. 70-75.
- Halnais, Sean. "Invisibility," Salinas: Division of Humanities and Communication, 2008.
- Heizer, Robert. "Impact of Colonization on the Native California Societies." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 155-173.
- Jackson, Robert H. and Edward Castillo. *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995.

- Jayme, Luis "Criticizes the Behavior of Spanish Soldiers, 1772." In *Major Problems in California History*, edited by Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997, p. 59-60.
- Kelsey, Harry. "Interview." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 451-54.
- May, James. "Costanoan Want Recognition From Catholic Mission." *Today Staff*. 13 Dec. 2000. <http://www.indiancountry.com/content.cfm?id=508>. (accessed 19 Sep. 2007).
- Margolin, Malcolm. *Monterey in 1786: Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean François de la Perouse*. Berkley: Heyday Books, 1989.
- Mendoza, Ruben. "Perceptions of California Indians during the Mission Period." Lecture, California State University Monterey Bay, Monterey, March 11, 2008.
- Map of Alta and Baja California Missions, Munrus Museum, Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo.
- Monroy, Douglas. *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Nunis, Doyce B. Jr. "Interview." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 441-49.
- Phillips, George Harwood. "Indians and the Breakdown of the Spanish Mission System in California." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 380-394.
- Rawls, James J. *Indians of California: The Changing Image*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984.
- Sandos, James A. *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*. London: Yale University Press, 2004.
- . "Junipero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record." *The American Historical Review* 93, 5 (Dec. 1998). 1253-1269.
- Serra, Junipero "Reports the Destruction of the San Diego Mission, 1775." In *Major Problems in California History*, edited by Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997, p. 60-62.
- Shenk, Gerald E. "Introduction to Domination and Resistance." Lecture, California State University Monterey Bay, Monterey, January 24, 2008.

Shipek, Florence Connolly. "Saints or Oppressors: The Franciscan Missionaries of California." In *The Missions of California: A legacy of Genocide*, edited by Rupert Costo and Jeanette Henry Costo, San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987, p. 29-47.

Stearns, Peter N. *World History in Brief: Major Patterns of Change and Continuity 5th Ed.* New York, George Mason University, 2005.

Stodder, Ann Lucy Wiener. *Archives of California History: Mechanisms and Trends in the Decline of the Costanoan Indian Population of Central California: vol. 4.* Salinas: Coyote Press, 1986.

Tarakanoff, Vassili Petrovitch. "Captivity at Mission San Fernando." In *Lands of Promise and Despair*, edited by Rose Mary Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001, 293-97.

Vought, Martha. "Shamans and Padres: The Religion of the Southern California Missions." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 203-13.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERDISCIPLINARY REFLECTION ESSAY

Interdisciplinary Essay

The past year has been quite an experience. Never before have I done so much research for a single project. But despite the stress and the amount of work I have done, it was time well spent. As I reach the closing days of my time here at California State University Monterey Bay, I now take the time to reflect on the past accomplishments I have achieved as a student of Human Communication.

I can recall when I first became acquainted with the HCOM department as a transfer student and didn't know my way around, lost in the midst of such a complex world of intellect. But as I attended different classes within the Human Communication department, I began to realize that each class left an everlasting imprint on my mind, giving me a new skill to use. The HCOM department has given me new definitions of knowledge, such as the ability to designate a certain topic, being able to take a specific stance, or view from a certain perspective, and then later research for resources that supports that view. I have also excelled in my ability to analyze historical documents, being able to break up and distinguish certain segments and how they coincide with

particular theories that I have learned from another class. That is another skill I've learned, crossing concepts from different classes.

What I gained from HCOM I now use during my daily life. Say, for example, I read a political issue in the paper. Instead of sticking with the article's point of view, my mind starts taking different perspectives other than the writer's. I begin to wonder what tone the writer might be using, what stance they take by their use of words. Even when reading historical documents, I think of the time when the document was written, what was the cultural norm back then that would urge the person to write about a certain issue in such a way. Were they well informed or not?

These points have especially been helpful to me when assembling my Senior Capstone Project. There is no doubt that collecting sources is important, but I have learned, through the HCOM program, to designate sources that are not only valuable in their context, but are also credible, such as if the author is well credited, and is renowned for their work. It was a greater challenge trying to interweave the different viewpoints, so as to make the context of my writing flow in such a way that people would have some idea of what I try to present.

When combining these different elements, I also think on what concepts, enlightened to me in the past, have also been significant and became deeply involved, though not directly, in the project itself. For example, the topic for my capstone was inspired by my professor for "California at the Crossroads" (MLO 3), Professor David Raymond. It was in this specific class that I chose what would eventually become my senior project. I became fascinated with the Native Americans and the California Spanish Mission Period. Professor Raymond gave explicit details on how the Indians were

treated. While doing field research, I noticed that there was very little mentioning of Native California history at the missions themselves, which got me to wondering that perhaps the history itself was so horrific that the mission establishments did not want to reveal it to the public. That's what interested me to engage in a much larger project.

Learning to take a specific stance came much earlier in my "Cooperative Argumentation" class (MLO 1) with Professor Ernest Stromberg in which I was taught how to develop a perspective on a topic and develop that view, create a concrete argument and express why that aspect is important. I also learned not to be cynical of my view. Assumptions can be misguided at times.

For example, the class engaged in a hot topic about the controversy behind the Hurricane Katrina tragedy. Of course there were all of these views saying that there were issues of racism involved, or that certain precautions were not fulfilled. However, such insights and opinions were unreliable because there was no real evidence to prove what they were saying was true. That is what the class was assigned to do. We were required to find sources that were well informed which might be able to help us reach our intended goal. The class was divided into segments, each looking into a different aspect of the Katrina incident. In the end, we found that there was no real individual who was responsible, but rather it was how these combined factors eventually led to the inevitable tragedy at New Orleans. What I learned most, however, was not to base a perspective simply on assumptions. One must have solid proof to help reinforce their claim.

The ability to find credible evidence, which I learned in "Cooperative Argumentation," became a critical asset to my capstone project. First of all, it was essential to have a designated view to work on, in the case of my capstone, the view of

Native Americans during the Mission Period. Then to reinforce that view, good sources must be collected. At the same time, one must not be too involved thinking that their view and others that reinforce that perspective are absolute. Otherwise, there is no argument. One must also find counterviews that would give an opposite perspective, and every perspective must be taken into consideration. All the while searching for my sources, I also thought why the Franciscans did what they did and why they conducted themselves in the way they had. It got me to wondering about what ethical morals might have been involved.

The value of morals was a concept that was critical to the understanding of my topic. I became acquainted with morality when taking “Ethical Issues” (MLO 3) under the guidance of Professor John Berteaux. In this class, I became familiar with different authors like John Stuart Mills and Immanuel Kant who presented their separate views of ethics and how they applied to societal standards. John Stuart Mills for example believed that people must act in a way that would preserve the greater good or the majority in other words. Yet Immanuel Kant thinks differently, believing that an individual, no matter what the consequence, must always do what is right, despite the opinions of the majority. Such concepts were continuously present in my mind as I thought of how they would fit into describing the conduct of morals the Franciscans, Native Americans, and Spanish soldiers abided by during the Mission Period.

All in all, as an HCOM student I learned to take multiple findings into perspective and to narrow my views, so as not to be too broad on a specific subject. At the same time, I learned not to discredit perspectives because each point of view has its own values. I have applied these new concepts to my capstone, combining historical context, how they

were interpreted, how others would interpret them, and how past events might fit into theories established by scholars and contemporaries.

Merely gathering all the resources for my senior project was challenging enough in itself, including finding resources that were credible enough and well reinforced by other sources. Then assembling the capstone in an outline was an equally difficult task. I took a more traditional approach, presenting the topics and subtopics of my research into a chronological assembly, dealing from the first encounter between Spanish and Native Americans to the continuing controversy that surrounds present day representation of Indians and why there is suppression of their experience at the missions.

I turned to my professors for background information, probing the very depths of their knowledge on the Mission Period. Professor Rebecca Bales and Professor Ruben Mendoza were very helpful, since they excelled on mission history. The best part about it was that they were two opposites. Professor Bales stands firmly with the Natives while Professor Mendoza seeks to find the truth behind the Mission Period. I also found Professor Gerald Shenk to be very impressive, stating that individuals are forged by the history and society that surrounds them. I found that to be a significant factor for my capstone project. And Professor Cecilia O'Leary was informative and has been extremely helpful helping me assemble my project.

However, though as thorough as my research has been, there was only so much I could do in so little time. Those are some of the gaps that have been left unfulfilled. I could have expanded a little more on my research. Only after I started writing and completing my work did I realize there are more creditable sources that could have been

used. There was also more information that I got from my professors that might have come in handy. That would have been a great contribution to my project.

That can wait another time. For now, I am happy about how my project turned out. My professors and my peers enjoyed it. They found the drafts of my project informative, well concentrated and structured, and easily understandable. At the same time, they have become increasingly enlightened. I know it's opened my eyes to such a significant period of California history. I have been so inspired by my accomplishment with this project, I believe once it is completed, I will continue with my research and expand on my findings, perhaps find another topic that I could argue about and use my gained skills to solidify my stance on that designated view.

APPENDIX B: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annotated Bibliography

Asisara, Lorenzo. "The Killing of Fr. Andres Quintana at Mission Santa Cruz." In *Lands of Promise and Despair*, edited by Rose Mary Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001, p. 284-92.

Asisara Lorenzo, an old resident of California, was interviewed by Thomas Savage on June, 10, 1877 in his attempt to record the old lives and testimonies of the elder generation of California. During his interview with Asisara Lorenzo, Savage was told a detailed account that was passed on by Lorenzo's father, Venancio Asar. Asisara Lorenzo and his father were both Neophytes from the Mission Santa Cruz. According to Lorenzo's testimony, the reason why Father Quintana was marked to be killed was because he was deemed cruel by the Santa Cruz Neophytes. This is an example of resistance that the Neophytes used during the Mission Period, individual assassinations.

Bales, Rebecca. "Native Americans and the California Mission Period." lecture, California State University Monterey Bay, Monterey, 2007-2008.

Professor Rebecca Bales, Ph. D., an instructor at California State University Monterey Bay, is a specialist regarding Native American history, customs, and traditions, as well as an expert in California and United States history. She provided a well detailed account regarding the perspective of Native Californians during the mission period. From her stand point, Professor Bales interprets the efforts of the Franciscan friars as a means to help firmly establish Spanish control over the California region against possible encroachment from other countries that were establishing their own territories in the American at that time, preferably the Russian fur traders who were working their way southward down the California coast. Bales explains that despite good intentions of the Franciscans, the reality was entirely the opposite. This is an example of what methods the Spanish used for empire building and what effect it had on the Indigenous inhabitation.

Beebe, Rose Marie, Robert M. Senkewicz. *Lands of Promise and Despair*. Santa Clara: Heyday Books. 2001.

This book is a collection of both researched sources, secondary sources and primary sources, including letters, journal entries, and excerpts from articles written from the Spanish Period to the statehood of California into the United States. The articles used from this book are from when Spanish set up the mission chain in Alta California. They speak of their interactions with the Native Americans and some of the hostile conflicts that were engaged. All the while, there are also a lot of entries regarding the life at the missions. The authors have no particular view in mind, but rather give an overview of California history. The documents themselves express the attitudes of the day.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *Fray Juan Crespi: Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast 1769-1774*. New York: AMS Press. 1927.

This is a translated and edited diary of Father Juan Crespi, an associate of Father Junipero Serra. The journal entries tell of the journey that Crespi had from Mexico to Northern California. He tells of the interactions that he had with the Native Americans. Unlike what most sources say, giving a negative aspect of missionary sentiment, Crespi was in fact very sentimental and rather curious of the Native Americans. He comments on the ceremonial practices and the lifestyle of the non-Christian Indians and how they can be both hostile as well as generous and outgoing. So this adds to the argument that the negative view of the Spanish missionaries is not always as dark as what some particular authors might have perceived in former essays.

Castillo, Edward D. *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991.

Castillo has integrated a series of collective essays written by many esteemed scholars and historians specializing on the Native Americans in California and their interactions with the Europeans, particularly the Spanish. The entries in this book give well in depth and detailed accounts regarding the effects of the missions and colonization by the Spanish on the local people within California. Judging by the nature of the sources Castillo has chosen, most of them favoring Native Americans, and by the main theme of his other works, he has taken on a perspective that swings more in favor of the Indigenous people rather than the Spanish missionaries. That's why his work is extremely important for the project.

---. "An Indian Account of the Decline and Collapse of Mexico's Hegemony over the Missionized Indians in California." *American Indian Quarterly* 13; 4. (1989): p. 391-408.

Edward Castillo's work portrays the first encounters of the Natives with the Franciscan Friars and Spanish soldiers to the early years of hegemony under Mexican rule after secularization. Preferably concentrated to the Spanish Mission Period, the induction of the Indigenous people into the Catholic faith resulted in disastrous

consequences. He summarizes the living conditions at the missions, the punishments that the Neophytes had to endure, should they have shown misconduct or insubordination, and gave examples of resistance against the Spanish occupiers. Judging from the attitude Castillo has towards the Franciscans, he seems to be favoring the Indians. His work has a sufficient amount of evidence to reinforce claims in the mission project.

---. "The Native Response to the Colonization of Alta California." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 423-40.

In this article, Castillo describes the reason for why the Spanish were in California. They came to help convert the Native population. He mentions the conditions of the missions and how the sanitation was less than satisfactory in some cases. Castillo points out the forms of resistance, from individual assassinations, to fugitivism, religious resistance, infanticide, and open armed rebellion, particularly the Chumash Rebellion of 1824, where open revolt started from Mission Santa Inez and eventually worked its way to Mission La Purisima Concepcion in the West and Santa Barbara in the South. Like his other works, Castillo gives a more belligerent attitude towards the Spanish missionaries.

Chan, Sucheng and Spencer Olin. *Major Problems in California History*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997.

This book contains a great deal of sources, preferably primary sources. In chapter three, Chan and Olin present primary documents regarding the mission system and the effect they had on the Native Americans. They focus on the Indians and their reactions to the Spanish way of discipline and life. They start out by using primary documents, like letters written by Father Luis Jayme back in 1772 for example. Then they would also add scholarly articles written by well known researchers giving opposite views. In this case, it was regarding the Mission Period and how each scholar interpreted the events of the day and attempted to justify their argument. The attitude of the authors is self exclamatory. *Major Problems in California History* indicates that this book gives flaws to California history and what the general public has been led to believe. The references in this book have been very obliging for my presented aspects.

Cherny, Robert W, Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, Richard Griswold del Castillo. *Competing Visions: A History of California*. New York, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005.

This text gives a wide history of California from the Indigenous peoples to recent events. This book gives a surface focus on the Native American people and the California Mission period. No doubt that this text had gained its information from scholars like Rawls, Heizer, and Cook. However, the contexts regarding the mission period is mostly based on the effects of Spanish influence on California and how. It was also during the waning phase of the mission period that there came a characterization between Northern California and Southern California. This would reverberate even to this very day. This

text tries to balance opinions so as not to favor one side or the other. I have taken the liberty of using some of the information on the Mission Period from this text.

Cook, Sherburne F. "The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 81-128.

Sherburne F. Cook's analysis of the California Indians and the mission system is probably one of the most well known articles ever written. He presents the interactions with the European and Anglo society and focuses on the outcomes and results of this interaction. He mentions the effects on Native American populations in California and how they came to a decline and by what factors helped this along. He tells about the dietary effects and how types of food lead to reduction in nutritional intake. All the while, he even explains the social factors leading to the Indians gaining cultural as well as psychological changes. The rate of Native American births was becoming progressively low through the course of the mission period. All the while, the death rates were remarkably high. Later, Cook gives the aspects of positive and negative natures and how they differed in the level of intensity. He then takes an entire concept of the response to the missions and how the Native Americans responded, and in what manner they responded, whether it was running away, armed resistance and rebellion, or perhaps just a passive resistance.

Costo, Rupert and Jeannette Henry Costo. *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*. San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987.

One can already tell the stance given by the editors. This can be observed by the title alone. This book holds a collection of different interviews, scholarly essays, and articles written by many credited historians like Florence Connolly Shipek, Dr. Doyce B. Nunis Jr., Francis F. Guest, and Edward Castillo. The documents give detailed accounts from the perspective of the Native Americans and how they were treated by the padres and the Spaniards during the mission era as well as countering arguments supporting the Franciscan attempt to Hispanicize the indigenous people. There are personal testimonies and stories that give accounts of Indians, or the accounts of their relatives. There is a great deal of negative sentiment against the Spanish, which reflects the attitude the authors have against Spanish occupancy. For anyone who desires to have a strong stance against the Franciscans, this would be the ideal text to read.

De Ascencion, Antonio "1620: The First Plan for Missions in California," In *Lands of Promise and Despair*, edited by Rose Mary Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, 51-3. Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001, p. 52-3.

Antonio de Ascencion laid out the plans for establishing of the missions and what purpose they were to serve in the distant California territories. He also explains that those who would help enforce the mission system must themselves be moral in mind and spirit. By doing this, the Native Americans would be more obligated to drop their traditional way of life in order to become part of a more enlightened society. Ascencion also gave an

example of what the end result would be should things go well with the task set down for the Franciscan missionaries. He goes on to explain that minds of the young are the freshest and easiest to mold. The Indigenous children would learn the traditions, language, and customs of Spain. Once such a task was finished, the Franciscans could continue on with their sacred task elsewhere, leaving the newly transformed Native societies to uphold the authority in California. And perhaps those same Indians would also take on the task of spreading the Catholic faith and customs of Spain. Since this is being written by the context of the time, it is not surprising that the attitude Ascension gives is favorable to the Spanish cause. This document is indeed important. Though there are good moral points written, it was the manner of how things were executed which matter the most.

De Lasuen, Fermin Francisco "From the Refutation of Charges by, 1801," In *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846*, edited by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001, p. 273-276.

Father Francisco de Lasuen, the successor of Father Junipero Serra, was accused by Fr. Antonio de la Concepcion Horra who criticized the missions; not only for self profiteering, but also that those said missionaries were not conducting themselves in the manner set forth by the crown. Horra accused Lasuen of allowing the Natives not only to leave the missions, but the Natives themselves were being taught the Holy Scriptures in their own language. Lasuen was also accused of allowing severe punishment against the Indians occur. Lasuen, however, counters Horra's argument with his own letter, stating that what the missions were doing were for the better good of the Native people. The Neophytes were becoming enlightened with their exposure to the Spanish and Franciscan customs and were leaving their savage life behind. However, Lasuen did not confine the Natives to the mission. He stated that if there was a lack of supplies, the Natives could go out and find the necessary supplements. All the while, Lasuen gave a alight admiration of the traditional lives of the Native Californians saying, "they disregard the law of self-preservation...which binds under penalty...the total destruction of the human race...They can enjoy life as long as they are able to sustain it" (Beebe and Senkewicz, 271) So even despite the need to convert the Natives, Lasuen allows some leverage for the Natives in times of strife.

Fogel, Daniel. *Junipero Serra, the Vatican, and Enslavement Theology*. San Francisco: Ism Press, 1988.

This text gives the aspect of the Native Americans and the methods inflicted on them by the Franciscans for possible disobedience. The first half of the book tells of the life of Junipero Serra and the controversial events that he had been part of. For one thing, as Fogel points out, Serra was a hard disciplinarian. The reason being is because he believed that pain was closer to God. The second part of this text tells about the Interactions of the Native Americans and their dealings with Serra and the mission system. One can tell by the title of the book itself that Fogel's attitude towards Serra and

the Franciscans is a negative one, favoring the Indians more. This text was one of the primary sources that I used for my mission project.

Galvan, P. Michael. "People of the West: Ohlone Story." *The Indian Historian* 1, no. 2. (1968): p. 9-13.

Galvan goes to explain the early history of the Ohlone People. He was only seventeen when embarking in a scholarly career (9) and was the first of two young Indian descendents to become a full fledged member of the Board of Directors of the American Indian Historical Society. He gives account that due to the mission system, the Ohlone culture, or for that matter the culture of many of the other native nations began to disintegrate. The reason being was because of the entering into the Mission system, the natives were not allowed to continue with their original culture, nor could they continue speaking their native language. The case that Galvan presents is in most cases true. When a culture integrates into the customs of another, their unique way of life can be lost little by little. It is in the theory of Galvan, had the Spanish not come in contact with the native Californians when they did, no doubt that the Indians could have forged a civilization most unique throughout the world.

Goerke, Betty. *Chief Marin: Leader, Rebel, and Legend: A History of Marin County's Namesake and His People*. Berkley: Heyday Books, 2007.

This book gives a history of the Native American people during the mission period. Not only the missions in general, but also what happened in specific missions like Dolores and San Rafael. Thorough Detail has been integrated into those examples, from the beginning of the mission founding, to life style and procession, to even resistance. The first couple of chapters speak of the daily routines and ceremonies of the local Miwok people before their interactions with the Spanish. Goerke follows the lifestyle of Miwok people, taking an Indigenous perspective of the events that occurred in California's early years. The examples that she provides have been of great help to helping explain the life and endurance of the Native Peoples.

Guerrero, Vladimir. *The Anza Trail and the Settling of California*. Santa Clara: Santa Clara University, 2006.

This book is a collection of journal entries, mostly taken from three different aspects. The first segments of the book are based on accounts given by Father Francisco Garces who was a Spanish born white. He had forged friendships with the local people, which had greater importance to him than anything. The second segment of the book comes from Father Pedro Font. And the final segment comes from the writings of Juan Bautista de Anza, whose rank as a presidio commander gave him a certain level of distinguish and high status in Spanish society. The book goes on to tell of the daily activities that had taken place in central and southern California and the interactions that the missionaries and the soldiers had with the Native Americans. This also gives the Spanish aspect and how they believed that there were no real problems within the mission

system. But because these writings were forged a couple centuries ago, there is no doubt that certain aspects of Native Americans would be left vague.

Guest, Francis F. O.F.M. "Cultural Perspectives on Death and Whipping in the Missions." In *Major Problems in California History*, edited by Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997, p. 70-75.

Guest's aspect takes a position at the time and place of the mission period. He withdraws the modern twentieth and twenty-first century views of humanitarians, and keeps out the perspective of modern thoughts, especially the concept of cruel and unusual punishment that is held by modern American and western standards. He instead looks on the thoughts and feelings and traditional roles of the Spanish missionaries and focuses on why they would inflict these supposedly harsh treatments upon the Indians. Spanish missionaries were different way back then. The method of the practice in question was common those two or three centuries before and the Catholic faith upheld ideals of discipline, submission, and suffering. In the concept of suffering, Guest goes on to tell that the Indians, finding the methods of the padres rather harsh, did not know of what the fathers themselves went through on a daily basis. This was an important source to include because it explains the differences between Indigenous and Spanish cultures and the contrast of punishment.

Heizer, Robert. "Impact of Colonization on the Native California Societies." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 155-173.

Heizer goes on to tell of the dealings with the Native Americans by the Spanish, favoring the Native perspective over the missionaries. The missions were established supposedly for the benefit of the natives. Not only were they to be taught the Spanish ways and customs, but they were also to learn the language and the religion, which was the most important. Heizer covers a general overview regarding laboring hierarchy, sanitation within the missions, the decline of the mission system, resistance of the Native peoples, and methods of punishment. Heizer is a renowned expert on the Mission Period and the Native perspective, which makes his views and concerns all the more important to the project I am orchestrating.

Jackson, Robert H. and Edward Castillo. *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995.

This text gives an explicit account of how the Native Americans were treated during the mission period in California. The details of the book give explanations to what the purpose of the mission system was for, including a series of statistics taken from that time. They explain agriculture and how important it was to mission economics and how it had an effect on the Neophytes who were stationed at the missions. Jackson and Castillo further explain the resistance toward the missions. The authors take a much broader look

at the missions, omitting personal opinions from the text, which gives further importance to this text. There was a need for a third perspective that was not in favor of either side.

Jayme, Luis "Criticizes the Behavior of Spanish Soldiers, 1772." In *Major Problems in California History*, edited by Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997, p. 59-60.

Father Luis Jayme, who was in charge of the Mission San Diego in 1772, became rather concerned with the rising tensions that began to accumulate between the personnel at the mission and the surrounding Gentile villages. Jayme, however, knew that this tension was caused by the misconduct and immorality of the soldiers who were stationed at the military presidio. These soldiers, as explained by Father Jayme, engaged in horrendous acts against the gentile villages. Though being a Franciscan priest, he was mostly concerned with the Natives, wishing only to keep the peace. Despite Jayme's letters of concern, no action was taken. Three years later, the tension would finally break into an all out revolt as angry Gentiles stormed the Mission San Diego, torched some of the buildings and put both soldiers and missionaries under siege. In the process, Father Luis Jayme himself was killed trying to restore order. This was an important document to reinforce the concept that not all friars were the cause of tension between Indigenous peoples and the Spanish. Hence, Jayme's aspect proved a valid source to add to my project.

Kelsey, Harry. "Interview." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 451-54.

This interview of Harry Kelsey gives an example of the perspective favoring the mission system and how the Indians were in need of sanctuary by the missionaries. He goes on to tell that the life of native Californians was a constant struggle and that the Indians lived a very primitive style of life. He goes on to say that in reality the California terrain was harsh and did not provide a sufficient staple of food. Thus, the Natives turned to the missions, which bore a continuous bounty of food. The Natives learned the agricultural style of life. Hence the unpredictability of hunting and gathering to sustain life and survive was proclaimed void. All the while, they were being taught the religious doctrine of the Catholic Church and were brought up in a way that would eventually allow the Native Americans to become loyal subjects to the Spanish crown. That way, there would be a large enough population to help keep Spanish territories secured. This source proves a valuable alternative aspect, which also explains that Native Americans were not as well off as what some others believe.

May, James. "Costanoan Want Recognition From Catholic Mission." *Today Staff*. 13 Dec. 2000. <http://www.indiancountry.com/content.cfm?id=508>. (accessed 19 Sep. 2007).

James May presents an article for the Indian Country paper. He explains an argument presented by representatives of the Ohlone community who wanted equal recognition in the Carmel Mission. The issue was brought before the Catholic Church and

debated by the top officials. The Catholic Church still does not want to give say to the Native Americans and the local Costanoan people due to the fact that the Carmel Mission is still a running, working parish where hundreds of Catholics assemble for weekly masses and gatherings. It is believed that in order to give equal say to the Ohlone people and their history at the mission, possible secrets of past endeavors, in most cases negative endeavors would be released to the public. There had been an earlier agreement in 1999 regarding equal representation of Native Americans at the mission. The Catholic authority at San Carlos agreed to the proposal passed by the Native Americans provided that the necessary documentations could be salvaged and brought as proof. But to the dismay of the Catholic Church, the documentations were accumulated. That was, as is what is said in the article "When the problems began." There is no doubt of possible hidden information that the church does not want to share.

Margolin, Malcolm. *Monterey in 1786: Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean François de la Perouse*. Berkley: Heyday Books, 1989.

This is an account given by Jean François de La Perouse, a French observer, who witnessed the life at the California missions. It was during his stay amongst the Spanish, particularly in the Monterey Bay area that he witnessed the life of Native Americans in the Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo. He goes on to explain his personal counts and what he saw of the mission and those inhabiting it. He takes into consideration the baptizing and integration of the local people into the mission system and the Catholic faith. He also goes to see that along with acceptance of the Catholic faith, now there were certain rules and restrictions that were enforced on Neophytes, which are converted Native Americans. And because they were now Christians, they had given a solemn vow that they were to follow the teaching of the church to the letter. For those who didn't the consequences would be severe.

Mendoza, Ruben. "Perceptions of California Indians during the Mission Period." Lecture, California State University Monterey Bay, Monterey, March 11, 2008.

Professor Ruben Mendoza, Ph.D., has a different notion on the California Mission Period. He doesn't necessarily support the efforts of the Spanish colonizers, yet at the same time he does not entirely sympathize with the Native Americans and the argument that has been raised. He simply collects facts, searching for the truth behind the history of the missions. He explains that the missionaries were not responsible for any injustices brought upon the Native Californians. Rather, it was the misconduct of the soldiers that provoked tensions between the Spanish and the Indigenous people. The padres themselves did all that they could to see that the Indians were treated fairly. The reason why there was such an upheaval of tensions and aggressions was not only because of the clash of cultural differences, but also because the California Mission period took place during a moment in history where Spain was having the most difficulty with financing its territories. Alta California, being the territory furthest from the central Spanish power in the Americas, Mexico City, was basically left to fend for itself. This financial strife was what caused individuals to start taking matters into their own hands. Mendoza also explains that the reason why there is such omission of Native American history at the

California Missions is because of the lawsuits and arguments presented, not by the Catholic Church, but rather by the individual, present day Indian nations who confront one another demanding accurate representation of their individual heritages. There had been some accounts in which Professor Mendoza has also been attacked by such aggression, though not physically.

Monroy, Douglas. *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Douglas Monroy's perspective, much like James J. Rawls, Edward D. Castillo, and Robert Heizer, focuses on the Native American perspective in California history. In his book, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California*, Monroy concentrates on the era from the Mission establishments to the turn of the twentieth century and how Indians were effected by the influences of Spain and Mexico. Like Rawls and Castillo, he opens his argument viewing the simplistic life of the Native Americans and how their natural surroundings helped to construct the blueprint of Native American society. He also talks about why the Spanish first came. For example, the threat of Russia encroaching on Alta California was a major concern (Monroy, 20). Hence, the Spanish government had to quickly mobilize themselves to prevent their territory from falling into the hands of the Russian traders. Thus, there was a plan to colonize Alta California. However, Spain had little money left since it was already on the decline and would not be able to reinforce their California territory in a proper colonization manner. As well, because there was a lack of Spanish population in California, the Spain had to find some other source of population to ensure the security of California. That is what helped to establish the mission system. The Mission chain was expected to take in the local peoples, convert them to Catholicism, teach them Spanish customs and the Spanish language and they send out the new converts to help defend the territorial borders.

Nunis, Doyce B. Jr. "Interview." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 441-49.

The interview of Dr. Doyce B. Nunis, a professor at the University of Southern California also takes on a perception that favors the Spanish missionaries and their hopes of converting the Native Americans into becoming faithful followers of the Catholic faith. He takes up the argument of how the Indians declined in their population, due to the outbreak of European diseases. Because the local indigenous communities had no immunity to these old world sicknesses, they were easily infected and succumbed in mass numbers. He also reinforces the methods behind the Catholic Church. It is by the standards of the faith that people are not coerced into becoming a Christian. Forced conversion is a concept rejected by the faith. As well, the Franciscans had a great deal of materials that could help boost the native way of life, allowing the Indians to become more sophisticated, using tools of metal, learning cultivation and allowing the indigenous people to become more independent.

Phillips, George Harwood. "Indians and the Breakdown of the Spanish Mission System in California." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 380-394.

George Phillips gives his analysis of the missions in California and how they were based off the concept of a plural institution. He goes on to explain that the Spanish had developed this way of colonization in order to maintain control of a larger territory without having to have an extensively large Spanish originated population. The ruling minority must maintain economic and political power and set boundaries in order to hold control over the larger majority. Should there be any wavering in this policies set by the minority, the smaller ruling class could lose power, and control would be uncertain. He compares this with the mission system and how the padres did all in their power to see that their converted natives were properly brought up in Spanish education, customs, and religion. However, this proved difficult for the padres. Eventually, because of the continuous waxing and waning of neophyte populations, the missions would eventually decline. This would accelerate with the Independence of Mexico from Spanish rule.

Rawls, James J. *Indians of California: The Changing Image*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984.

James J Rawls is another author and historian that focused on the extent of Native Californian history, especially regarding the events of the Mission Period. He gives an image of how Native Americans were before the coming of European influences and how that image made drastic changes as the Indians had encounters with the Spanish missionaries, the Mexican and Californio rancheros, and later into the Angle-American era when California was dubbed as a state and Gold was discovered. In the opening introduction of his book, *Indians of California: The Changing Image*, Rawls describes the setting of Native American life prior to the arrival of the Spanish. He explains that the Native Americans in the California region were well off as they were, living off the land that was abundant with natural food sources. However, the Native Americans did not have a sense of monopoly and did not exploit the natural resources surrounding them in exchange for personal profit. Instead, the Indians developed a state of equilibrium. Their societal structure was encompassed by the environment to which they lived.

Sandos, James A. *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*. London: Yale University Press, 2004.

James A Sandos has done extensive research on Native Americans during the Mission Period, from the day the first mission was established in Alta California to the closing days leading to secularization. He covers the legacy of Junipero Serra and his influence during the opening days of the Mission Prior, the first contact between the Spanish and the Native Americans, resistance by the Natives against Spanish and Catholic rule, and the later assessment of what effects the missions had on the Indigenous people. One point that was especially significant for evidence was regarding the Neophyte hierarchy that resided within the missions. This hierarchy was established by the Franciscan missionaries and their military counterparts, giving specific tasks to

specific individuals. For example, at the top of the hierarchical ladder were the artisans who were the carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, and those involved in the forging of leathered products, then there were the vaqueros, butchers, and fishermen, those were involved with meat goods. Following them were gardeners and horticulturalists that were responsible for maintaining the agriculture on the missions. And finally, there were the menial, non-skilled laborers who worked in the fields and forged tiling for the mission roofs. With this hierarchy came the concept of reward and reprimand. Those who did well and followed the commands given by the padres and military authority were rewarded. Those who were defiant were beaten as punishment. In turn Native American concept of shame was replaced by the Judeo-Christian sense of guilt, causing the Natives to believe that any misconduct was wrong and severe consequences awaited them both in life as well as the hereafter.

---. "Junipero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record." *The American Historical Review* 93, 5 (Dec. 1998). 1253-1269.

Sandos presents an ongoing controversy that has continued, even a hundred and fifty so odd years after the death of Padre Junipero Serra. Serra was set up to be canonized as an American Saint. However, his past and the effect that he and the mission system had on the Native Americans in California were anything, but satisfactory. There has been a great deal of resenting feelings from Indian descendents and Hispanic descendents against Serra and the Franciscans. Even Ohlone and Costanoan descendents who are devout members of the Catholic church find that canonizing Serra as a saint is something that they are not very comfortable with. When Pope John Paul II came to visit Serra's headquarters at the Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo in Carmel, there were demonstrations from the Costanoans that took place a mile away, which was as close as they could get during the papal visit. (1266-67) It just goes to show that even to this day, the effects of Junipero Serra and the Mission System have reverberated. In most cases under light of negativity.

Serra, Junipero "Reports the Destruction of the San Diego Mission, 1775." In *Major Problems in California History*, edited by Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997, p. 60-62.

After the uprising of the Indigenous people at Mission San Diego Alcalá, there was a large scale manhunt to find those who were responsible for slaying Father Luis Jayme, who was in charge of the mission when the uprising took place. Eventually, the Spanish authorities were able to capture the assailants who were involved in the uprising. However, there were letters of concerns regarding the fate of those who murdered Father Luis Jayme. Instead of words of out rage, however, Father Serra displayed a sentiment for the murderers. The incident at the Mission San Diego was the motivation needed to help increase the conversions of Native Californians. As for the fugitives that were captured, Serra found it a necessity to save the souls of the prisoners and that they should not be prepared for death, but rather for the afterlife.

Shenk, Gerald E. "Introduction to Domination and Resistance." Lecture, California State University Monterey Bay, Monterey, January 24, 2008.

Gerald E. Shenk Ph. D., a professor at California State University Monterey Bay, teaches United States and California history. He is familiar with five forms of domination: Imperialism, Capitalism, White Supremacy, Patriarchal Dominion, and Heterosexual Normality. In the case of the Mission Period, all five of these categories can characterize certain features of Spanish hierarchy over the Native Californians. Shenk also gives an example that the average individual is shaped not only by their surroundings, but the history that is forged from their families. For modern day Native Americans, there are many that are devout Catholics. This is an ongoing legacy that started with the Mission Period. Also because of the dark history that took place during the Mission Period, there is this obscuring of Native American History, which has been passed down by the administrators of the modern day missions and the Catholic Church, which still holds seventeen of the twenty-one Alta California Missions. No doubt that the Catholic Church wishes to maintain an image of religious purity for the Missions. A mission, like San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo, where Junipero Serra is buried, vaguely displays physical evidence of Native American life there. This is so that the image of Junipero Serra seems more of an angelic figure than what he actually was. It was this decision to discreetly mention Native Americans in the missions themselves that have caused most of the general public not to recognize the endurance the Natives underwent during that historical era.

Shipek, Florence Connolly. "Saints or Oppressors: The Franciscan Missionaries of California." In *The Missions of California: A legacy of Genocide*, edited by Rupert Costo and Jeanette Henry Costo, San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987, p. 29-47.

A renowned specialist in Native American studies, Florence Connolly Shipek takes on the perspective of Native Americans during the Mission Period. In this specific essay in *The Missions of California: A legacy of Genocide*, titled "Saints or Oppressors: The Franciscan Missionaries of California," Shipek goes on to talking about the intake of nutrients by the Indians prior and during the Mission Period. The agricultural style of the Native Americans was nothing like the conventional style of farming with plow and staple crop that requires constant attention. The Native Americans used a non-conventional style which involved the distributing of seeds upon an open area and did not require plowing of the fields. Instead, the Indigenous peoples allowed nature to take its course. The gathering foods that grew could survive harsh drought periods. When the rains came, these wild foods would eventually grow. The Native in turn would then collect the sustenance that sprouted, taking only as much as they needed. The Natives also lived off of the fauna that roamed the landscape, regimenting how much to take and wasting nothing that was collected. Shipek goes on to say that the reason why the Native Americans were enticed into the missions in the first place was because the Spanish had deprived the Indians of their natural growing food source which was consumed by domesticated animals, like sheep, horses, and cows, which were introduced by the Spanish. The overgrazing of these domestic animals gave way to erosion, not allowing

the roots to take hold and sprout again. This also had an effect on the native animal population in California that also relied on the natural growing grasses to live on. With the deprivation of this food source, the fauna population declined. Also, because the missionaries had established miles of land for the missions themselves, the Native people had to submit to the whim of Spanish rule in order to survive the famine. Hence, many Natives were drawn to the missions and converted into the order out of desperation.

Stearns, Peter N. *World History in Brief: Major Patterns of Change and Continuity 5th Ed.* New York, George Mason University, 2005.

Peter N. Stearns gives a summarized account of world history, beginning with the Paleolithic and ending with the Age of Exploration. For this particular source, the process of developing agricultural societies is taken into account. According to Stearns, most human societies started out as hunter and gatherer societies in which communities benefited from the resources that naturally grew around them. However, as population grew, there was need for a more sophisticated system. Agricultural societies helped to sustain larger populations because of the increase of food sources. However, agricultural societies were much harder to sustain, requiring a great deal of time and effort to the growing and cultivating of a continuous food source. It was because of this, as Stearns says, that the concept of time was established, such as the hour, the day, and the week. Now, people didn't rely on seasonal change. Instead, early agricultural civilizations used days and weeks to measure the time needed for cultivation and harvesting and the time needed to care for the crops. Because agriculture also needed a lot of attention, a certain few had to dedicate all their time to raising the crops. However, there also needed to be those who would ensure authority over the rest of the community. Thus, the concept of specialization was formed, defining certain individuals by their skills such as farmers, artisans, politicians, soldiers, and other occupations.

Stodder, Ann Lucy Wiener. *Archives of California History: Mechanisms and Trends in the Decline of the Costanoan Indian Population of Central California: vol. 4.* Salinas: Coyote Press, 1986.

This gives a much more detailed account, focusing more on the Native Americans and their time in the missions during the Spanish period. This unique secondary source gives specific details on the nutritional diet of the Costanoan and Ohlone people who were confined at the missions, preferably at the Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo, or Carmel Mission for short. There are a series of graphs and statistical charts that give an insight on diet contrast, between natural and mission regulated. This source also explains in thorough detail on the morality factor and the reasons why birth rates were so low and death rates were so high amongst the Neophytes. It was also due to the lifestyle at the missions that acted as another factor leading to high fatalities and low birthrates at the missions. For one thing, all single women were confined in a specific area of the missions and not allowed to come out during the day and locked up during the night. This gave way to a rise in unsanitary conditions. Also, sexual assaults by Spanish soldiers also increased the cases of Syphilis amongst the Native women. (Stodder 31)

Tarakanoff, Vassili Petrovitch. "Captivity at Mission San Fernando." In *Lands of Promise and Despair*, edited by Rose Mary Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001, 293-97.

Vassili Petrovitch Tarakanoff was a Russian fur trader who was held at Mission San Fernando. His presence in California, along with many other Russian fur traders, were signs of an ominous threat as Russian profiteering began to knock upon the borders of Spanish-held California. He gives a detailed account of what he witnessed and experienced during his time at San Fernando. He goes on to describe how he and his comrades were bound by hand and foot and roughly treated by the Spanish soldiers that were posted at the mission. The Russian traders were subjected to engaging in menial labor alongside the Neophytes. However, the part of Tarakanoff's reminiscences that was focused on was the encounter with runaway Neophytes. To what Tarakanoff described, the Neophytes were bound together. Children were bound to their mothers with rope. As for the punishment they received. There was mentioning of flogging as some men were tied to posts and "beaten with straps." The death of the chief was far more horrific. It was described that he was "taken out to an open field, and a young calf which had just died was skinned, and the chief was sewn into the skin...kept tied to the stake all day, but died soon after..."

Vought, Martha. "Shamans and Padres: The Religion of the Southern California Missions." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 203-13.

Martha Vought explains that there were a great many elements that caused the attempts of the Franciscan Missionaries to fail in their task of converting the Native Californians. One of these factors was the language barrier between the cultures, not only amongst the Spanish, but the Native Americans as well. Because there were so many dialects, the priests could not afford to learn all of them individually. Thus, the standard language would be Spanish. However, even after over thirty years after the Alta California Missions were established, many of the Neophytes could only speak imperfect Spanish. But the most significant factor that Vought explains regards the continuation of traditional Indian beliefs, despite the fact that the missionaries tried their best to eradicate some of the old religious practices. Though the missionaries enforced the forbiddance of practicing old ways, Indians continued to accustom themselves with their ancestral traditions. That is one thing that the missions had no control over, the inner mental thoughts of the Native people. The shamans for one were considered a major threat as their natural way of seeing the world countered the Catholic doctrine. Shamans were held higher than even the best of Christian Indians. Traditional dances were frequent in the missions. Some, like Mission San Luis Rey, allowed the display of dancing. The fathers would turn a blind eye to the exhibition. Marriage and funeral rights were continued in the traditional ways, at times accepted by the padres who saw the Native ceremonies bearing some of the same characteristics as Christian ceremonies in marriage and death. Even to this day, the Catholic Church has remained open to some of the traditional Native American practices.

APPENDIX C: ELECTRONIC POSTER

HCOM Senior Capstone

Digital Poster

Fall 2006

Name:

Sean C. Halnais

Project Title:

Native Californians and the Mission Period

Concentration:

Human Communications

Project Abstract

This project gives insight to the history of the California Mission Period through the Native American perspective. The argument focuses on the negative side of the Mission System, dealing with how the Indians were first enticed, to what daily life and living conditions were like as part of the mission chain, what resulted from the incorporation, and what might cause the obscurity of Native Californian history in the present day missions.

Project Context



Evidence

I used cultural, historical and ethical studies to help reinforce my stance on the Native Californians and the missions, taking into consideration differences in language and customs and how they affected one another. However, one culture took domination over the other in order to maintain authority in the region. Mostly, I compared different documents and saw how they were linked to one another, whether the authors had similar means to conclude to their desired end, or might express some other fact that could coincide with the information

& Contributions

The project focuses on the interactions between the Natives of California and the Franciscan missionaries during the extent of the Mission period and what affects both cultures had on each other. This report is set in chronological order with subheadings to explain each topic. It also covers what means were used to bring the Natives into the missions, how the Indians were treated, and what lasting affect the Franciscans had on them. However, the Native experience in the California Missions was not a positive one. In fact, from the research I've done, the California Mission experience proved more costly than beneficial. I hope to thoroughly present my perspective on this topic, hoping that my work will enlighten later generations who will find interest in the subject and use this report either to reinforce their view, or counter it. Perhaps, if I expand on this report, using it as a backbone, I could further inform the general public and maybe in turn help gain proper recognition for Native Californians at the actual mission sites.

Relevant Links

<http://www.indiancountry.com/content.cfm?id=508>.

This site gives an account that took place in December of 2000 where members of the Costanoan people demonstrated that the Native Californians who were stationed at Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo were not properly represented. The public information on the California Indians that you will find at the Mission Carmel is extremely obscure, with only a simple display of artifacts representing the whole of the indigenous people.

Research Questions

- 1) What reasons would there be for the California Missions to be so vague, if not completely conceal the treatment of Native Americans?
- 2) What is the public image of California Indians within the missions and how does it conflict with what really happened?
- 3) Why is it that some California missions are less open with the Native American perspective than others?
- 4) How might ethical morals, such as religion, play in this censorship?
- 5) If released to the public, how might this revealed side of the missions affect the present aspect?
- 6) How did the enforcement of the Catholic faith on the Native Americans bring about the near destruction of the Indian cultures?
- 7) What factors assisted to the decline of the Native population?
- 8) How were the Native Americans enticed into the missions?
- 9) Why did the Spanish first establish the missions?
- 10) Was there a difference in treatment between Native men and Native women in the missions?

Key Findings

I read in several of the articles the method used for Spanish colonization without the use of a large Spanish population in the territory. It was also because of

provided by another document. Take for example the enticement of Native Americans into the missions. I first read that the California Indians depended on the missions as a reliable source of food. I later read that the reason why the Indians were dependent on the missions for food was because the Spanish had introduced domestic animals who depleted the Indians' food sources, bringing individual communities on the verge of starvation. This was reinforced by information I received from park rangers who worked at the site of old Mission Santa Cruz.

Project Format

This report is a standard history research paper describing the cause and effects of the mission system on the Native Californians.

Selected Bibliography

Primary Sources

Asisara, Lorenzo. "The Killing of Fr. Andres Quintana at Mission Santa Cruz." In *Lands of Promise and Despair*, edited by Rose Mary Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001, p. 284-92.

De Ascencion, Antonio "1620: The First Plan for Missions in California," In *Lands of Promise and Despair*, edited by Rose Mary Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, 51-3. Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001, p. 52-3.

De Lasuen, Fermin Francisco "From the Refutation of Charges by, 1801," In *Lands of Promise*

<http://www.carmelmission.org/>

This is the official site of the Carmel Mission, mentioning a lot of the general information about the Carmel Mission.

international political matters that forced the Spanish to send out expeditionary forces, responsible for colonization, in order to maintain order of Spain's territory in the new world. The missions themselves were established to act as independent agricultural centers, which would help maintain economic flow and prosperity in the new territories. It was due to this power struggle that caused the Spanish to try and keep California under their control. As for possible further research, I am thinking about finding sources that may explain why even to this day the Native Californians are not really mentioned in the present day mission sites.

and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846, edited by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, Santa Clara: Heyday Books, 2001, p. 273-276.

Margolin, Malcolm. *Monterey in 1786: Life in a California Mission: The Journals of Jean François de la Perouse*. Berkley: Heyday Books, 1989.

Serra, Junipero "Reports the Destruction of the San Diego Mission, 1775." In *Major Problems in California History*, edited by Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997, p. 60-62.

Secondary Story

Castillo, Edward D. *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991.

Cook, Sherburne F. "The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization." In *Spanish Borderland Sourcebooks: vol. 26*, edited by Edward D. Castillo, New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991, p. 81-128.

Costo, Rupert and Jeannette Henry Costo. *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*. San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987.

Fogel, Daniel. *Junipero Serra, the Vatican, and Enslavement Theology*. San Francisco: Ism Press, 1988.

Guest, Francis F. O.F.M. "Cultural Perspectives on Death and Whipping in the Missions." In *Major Problems in California History*, edited by Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997, p. 70-75.